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THE BISHOPS OF SCOTLAND

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# "THE BISHOPS OF SCOTLAND"

BEING NOTES ON THE LIVES OF ALL THE  
BISHOPS, UNDER EACH OF THE SEES,  
PRIOR TO THE REFORMATION

BY THE LATE RIGHT REV.

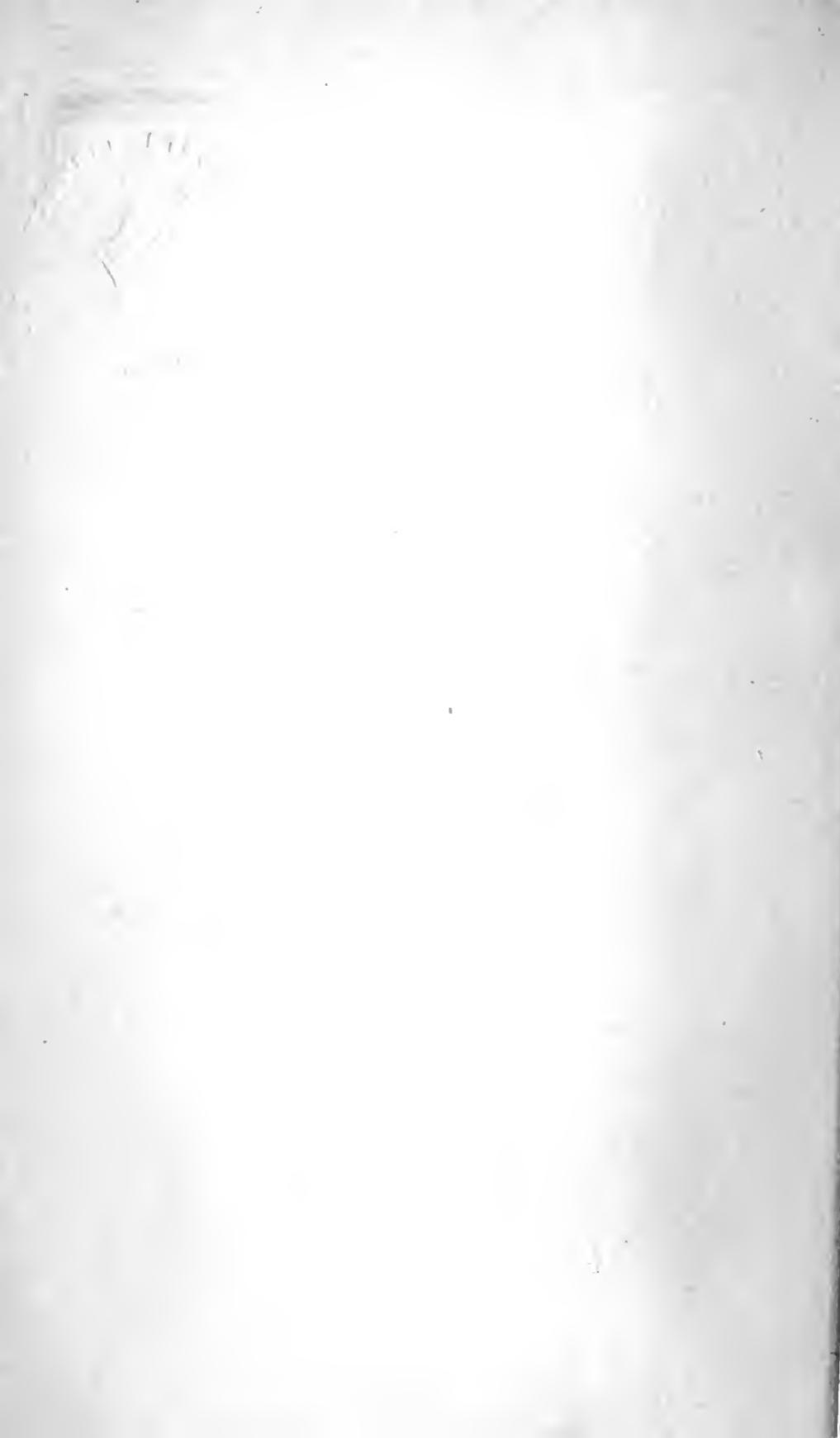
JOHN 'DOWDEN', D.D., LL.D.  
BISHOP OF EDINBURGH

EDITED BY

J. MAITLAND THOMSON, LL.D.

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GLASGOW  
JAMES MACLEHOSE AND SONS  
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1912



## PREFATORY NOTE

THIS work, the result of many years of research, was left by the revered author practically complete. To me, who have sometimes been privileged to assist in the spade-work, and sometimes to communicate fresh matter from records in Edinburgh and Rome, has been assigned the honourable duty of seeing the book through the press. The sections relating to the sees of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, Glasgow, and Aberdeen have appeared in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for 1903-4, the *Scottish Historical Review* for 1904 and for 1907-8, and the *Scottish Chronicle* for 1908-9 respectively. These reappear in their places with the author's additions and corrections; the rest of the book is now first printed.

The preface is made up from the author's prefaces to the already printed sees, with slight changes to bring it up to date.

It will be seen that Bishop Dowden's object was not to supersede Keith but rather to supplement him. Keith's work is often referred to for particulars not here repeated. And while the older writer brought his catalogue down to the Revolution, his successor stops at the Reformation. For some of the sees indeed a MS. continuation to 1688 exists, but for other sees there are only a few notes. But the history of the sees of Aberdeen and of Moray was continued to

the present day ; and these continuations, based largely upon materials neither published nor *publici juris*, are added by way of appendix.

It will be observed that in the body of the work the successive occupants of the sees are not numbered. In the author's MS. there is a numeration for most of the sees, but not for all ; and the defect could not be supplied in some cases (notably the Isles) without deciding doubtful points on which the present editor's opinion is valueless. And in the case of St. Andrews, to begin the numeration as the author begins the history, with Turgot, would be misleading. The only way to obtain uniformity, therefore, was to suppress the numbers throughout. But in the appendix the author's numbering is retained.

A word as to the editor's part in the work. For the arrangement of the sees the MS. afforded no guidance. The best course seemed to be to retain Keith's order, with one change. Keith, carrying his lists down to 1688, naturally followed the seventeenth century division between the provinces of St. Andrews and Glasgow, assigning to the latter the sees of Galloway, Argyll, and the Isles. It is well known that the restoration of Dunkeld and Dunblane to the province of St. Andrews left Glasgow with two suffragans only, Galloway and Argyll ; and St. Andrews was still metropolitan of the Isles as late as 1530 (see p. 292, note). The first record of that see as in the province of Glasgow is in 1617. The presumption evidently is that the change was made after the period at which the lists in this book terminate. If there is evidence to the opposite effect, I hope that it will be made known.

Beyond this the editor's duty has been to verify all references, to supply such additional information as

he had available, and to offer such explanations of difficulties as he could. His contributions under the two latter heads, whether in text or in footnotes, are enclosed in square brackets. In one case only (p. 259, note), he has dared to differ from the author. The source of the additional matter is always cited; some of it comes from private repositories, to whose owners grateful acknowledgements are due. Special mention must be made of the recently discovered charters of Coupar Abbey in possession of the Earl of Moray. The St. Andrews section is reprinted by permission of the Clarendon Press. The editor is also responsible for the index.

In such matters there is no finality; but 'the following lists are much superior to any which have preceded them.' So wrote the author, and I do not think any competent critic will differ from him.

EDINBURGH,  
*February, 1912.*



## AUTHOR'S PREFACE

IN the year 1755 Bishop Robert Keith published in quarto his important work, *A Large New Catalogue of the Bishops of the several Sees within the Kingdom of Scotland down to the year 1688. Instructed by proper and authentic vouchers, etc.* When we call to mind that none of the Chartularies or Registers of Religious Houses, or of Cathedrals, and none of the Public Records (with the exception of certain of the Acts of the Scottish Parliaments) were in print, it is quite wonderful to observe how diligent Keith had been in researches among the manuscript sources of information. In the year 1824, the Rev. Michael Russel, LL.D. (afterwards Bishop of Glasgow), published in octavo a new edition of Keith. In this he corrected some errors of Keith, and imported some new errors of his own.

The printing in later years of the Registers of the Cathedrals of Moray, Glasgow, and Brechin by the Bannatyne Club, and of Aberdeen by the Spalding Club, together with the issue by the Bannatyne Club of the Chartularies of Holyrood, Melrose, the Priory of St. Andrews, Dunfermline, Scone, Kelso, Dryburgh, the Nunnery of North Berwick, Inchaffray, Arbroath, and Newbattle, together with the Register of Paisley (Maitland Club), the Chartularies of Balmerino and Lindores (Abbotsford Club), Fraser's Register of

Cambuskenneth, the Chartulary of Lindores and the Charters of Inchaffray (both issued by the Scottish History Society), the Chartulary of St. Nicholas', Aberdeen (New Spalding Club), and other less important works, opened up a new field for study.

The publication at Rome in 1864, in folio, of Augustine Theiner's *Vetera Monumenta* was an epoch-making event in the study of Scottish ecclesiastical history. This great work has since been supplemented by the series of precious volumes (begun in 1893 and still in course of publication) issued under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, entitled *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland*. The volumes are edited by the late Mr. Bliss and by Mr. J. A. Twemlow, and commence with the year 1198. Many difficulties have been cleared, and in many respects precision secured by the records here made public. As yet the volumes come down only to 1447.

Dr. W. Maziere Brady's *Episcopal Succession* (Rome, vol. i. 1876) prints, unfortunately sometimes from late transcripts, Consistorial Acts of the appointment of Scottish Bishops, records of payments made by them at Rome, or of their *obligavit* on being appointed to their sees. These, however, do not help for dates earlier than the fifteenth century. Lastly, *Hierarchia Catholica medii aevi*, by Conrad Eubel (4to, Monasterii; tom. i. 1898; tom. ii. 1901; tom. iii. 1910), gives the dates of confirmation or provision of many of the Scottish bishops down to the Reformation, as found recorded in the Vatican archives.

The Great Seal Register is now available in print, not only for the medieval period (from A.D. 1306), but well on into the seventeenth century. The Register of

the Privy Seal is printed down to 1529 ; the rest is still in manuscript, preserved in H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh. It has been frequently consulted for the following pages.

My main object has been to determine, as far as is possible, the dates of the election (or papal provision), consecration, and death or resignation of the several bishops. Hence record or charter evidence relating to intermediate periods is not given in full except when unknown to Keith, or when anything of special interest seems to deserve observation.

When the information is forthcoming I have also recorded, as matters of ecclesiastical interest, the mode of the election, the confirmation by the Pope or his refusal to confirm, the names of the consecrators, and a few other particulars, chiefly from Theiner and the Calendar of Papal Registers.

In researches covering so great a field it can hardly be expected that no errors will have crept in. But it is confidently alleged that the following lists are much superior to any which have preceded them.

In citing evidence the Registers of the Scottish monasteries, as printed by the Bannatyne Club or by others, are referred to by the names in vernacular form : thus, Kelso stands for *Liber de Calchou*, Scone for *Liber de Scon*, etc. The same course is followed in citing some other printed collections of charters : thus, Wemyss stands for Sir W. Fraser's *Memorials of the family of Wemyss of Wemyss*.

The following are the other principal abbreviations employed :

A.P.—Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland. 12 vols. (Record Commissioners.)

Act. Audit.—Acts of the Lords Auditors of Causes and Complaints. (Record Commissioners.)

Act. Dom. Con.—Acts of the Lords of Council, 1478-1495. (Record Commissioners.) After 1495 the citations are from the MS. in the Register House.

Act. Dom. Con. et Sess.—Acts of the Lords of Council and Session, 1532-1559. MS. in Register House.

Ant. Aberd.—Illustrations of the topography and antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff. 4 vols. (Spalding Club.)

Auct. Chart. Univ. Paris.—*Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. Denifle and Chatelain. 2 vols.

B.—The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland, and Ireland, by W. Maziere Brady. 3 vols.

B.C.—Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, 1108-1509, ed. Bain. 4 vols.

B.U.K.—Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland. 3 parts. (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs.)

C.P.R.—Calendar of entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters. 8 vols. published. (Rolls series.)

C.P.R. Pet.—Calendar as above. Petitions to the Pope. 1 vol. published. (Rolls series.)

C.S.C.—*Chronicon coenobii Sancte Crucis Edinburgensis*. (Bannatyne Club.)

Cambusk.—*Registrum monasterii S. Marie de Cambuskenneth*. (Grampian Club.)

Chr. Mn.—Chronicle of Man, ed. Munch. 2 vols. (Manx Society.)

Chron. Anglo-Scot.—Monachi anonymi Scotti Chronicon Anglo-Scoticum, ed. Bouterwek. (An amplification of C.S.C. *supra*.)

Coll. Hist. Aberdeen.—Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff. (Spalding Club.)

Contin. Florent. Wigorn.—*Continuatio Florentii Wigorniensis*, ed. Thorpe. (English Historical Society.)

D.N.B.—Dictionary of National Biography.

Dioc. Reg. Glasg.—*Liber Protocolorum M. Cuthberti Simonis*, and Rental Book of the Diocese of Glasgow. 2 vols. (Grampian Club.)

Dipl. Norveg.—*Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, 1847-82. 11 vols. in 16.

Dunf.—*Registrum de Dunfermelyn*. (Bannatyne Club.)

E.—*Hierarchia Catholica medii Aevi*, 1198-1600. 3 vols. (vols. 1 and 2, ed. Eubel; vol. 3, ed. Van Gulik and Eubel).

E.A.V.—*Hectoris Boetii Episcoporum Aberdonensium Vitae*. (New Spalding Club.)

E.R.—Exchequer Rolls of Scotland. 23 vols. (Rolls series.)

Ep. Reg. Scot.—*Epistolae Regum Scotorum*, ed. Ruddiman. 2 vols.

Extr.—*Extracta e variis Cronicis Scocie*. (Abbotsford Club.)

Foed. (also cited as Rymer).—Rymer's *Foedera* (up to 1383 the references are to the Record Commissioners' edition, thereafter to the original edition).

H. and H.—The Archbishops of St. Andrews, by Herkless and Hannay. 3 vols. published.

H. and S.—Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland, ed. Haddan and Stubbs. 2 vols. in 4.

Hák. Hák. Saga.—Saga Hákonar Hákonarsonar (Fornmanna Sögur, vol. 10).

Hist. Ebor.—Apparently the Metrical Chronicle of the Church of York, printed in *Historians of the Church of York*, vol. ii. p. 446-63. (Rolls series.)

Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.—Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners.

K.—An Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops, by Bishop Keith (second edition, ed. Russel).

Lib. Insul. Miss.—*Liber Insule Missarum*. (Bannatyne Club.)

Lib. Vitae Eccl. Dunelm.—*Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*. (Surtees Society.)

M.—*Chronica de Mailros*. (Bannatyne Club.)

M.B.C.B.—Minute Book of the College of Bishops. MS. in custody of the Lay Clerk of the Scottish Episcopal Church.

Min. Brev.—*Minutae Brevium*. MS. in Vatican Archives.

Monast. Angl.—Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*. New edition, 8 vols.

Munim. Univ. Glasg.—*Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis*. 4 vols. (Maitland Club.)

N.S.C.—New Spalding Club.

Orig. Paroch.—*Origines Parochiales Scotiae*. 2 vols. in 3. (Bannatyne Club.)

Ork. Saga.—Orkneyinga Saga, ed. J. Anderson.

P.C.R.—Register of the Privy Council of Scotland. 25 vols. published. (Rolls series.)

R.A.—*Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis.* 2 vols. (Maitland and Spalding Clubs.)

R.B.—*Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis.* 2 vols. (Bannatyne Club.)

R.G.—*Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis.* 2 vols. (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs.)

R.M.—*Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis.* (Bannatyne Club.)

R.M.S.—*Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, 1306-1659.* Vol. 1. (Record Commissioners.) Vols. 2 to 10. (Rolls series.) After 1659 the citations are from the MS. in Register House.

R.P.S.A.—*Liber cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia.* (Bannatyne Club.)

R.S.S.—*Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum.* 1 vol. published. (Rolls series.) After 1529 the citations are from the MS. in Register House.

Reg. Alb. Ebor.—*Registrum Album Eboracense.* MS. in possession of the Dean and Chapter of York.

Reg. Av.—*Regesta Avinionensis.* MS. in Vatican Archives.

Reg. Cart. Eccl. S. Egidii.—*Registrum cartarum ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh.* (Bannatyne Club.)

Reg. Coll. Bps.—Register of the College of Bishops (same as M.B.C.B. *supra*, which is the more correct designation).

Reg. Ebor.—Probably the same as Reg. Alb. Ebor., above.

Reg. Lat.—*Regesta Laterana.* MS. in Vatican Archives.

Reg. Sac. Angl.—*Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, by W. Stubbs. 2nd ed. 1897.

Reg. Vat.—*Regesta Vaticana.* MS. in Vatican Archives.

Rot. Scot.—*Rotuli Scotiae.* 2 vols. (Record Commissioners.)

S.C.—Spalding Club.

S.E.S., Stat. Ec. Scot.—*Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanae.* 2 vols. (Bannatyne Club.)

S.H.R.—Scottish Historical Review.

S.H.S.—Scottish History Society.

Sc.—*Joannis de Fordun Scotichronicon*, ed. Goodall. 1775. 2 vols.

Script. Rer. Dan.—*Scriptores Rerum Danicarum.* 1772-1878. 9 vols.

T.—*Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam illustrantia*, ed. Theiner. 1864.

Tr. A.—Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland. 9 vols. published. (Rolls series.)

Vat. Arm. [xii.].—Document preserved in the Vatican Archives,  
Press (Armadio) [xii.].

W.—Wyntoun's *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*. 3 vols. Ed.  
D. Laing (Historians of Scotland series).

The names of bishops-elect who were not consecrated,  
or whose consecration is doubtful, are printed in italic  
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The bishops whose names are printed in italics are not known to have been consecrated. Those whose names are indented were never in possession of the see.

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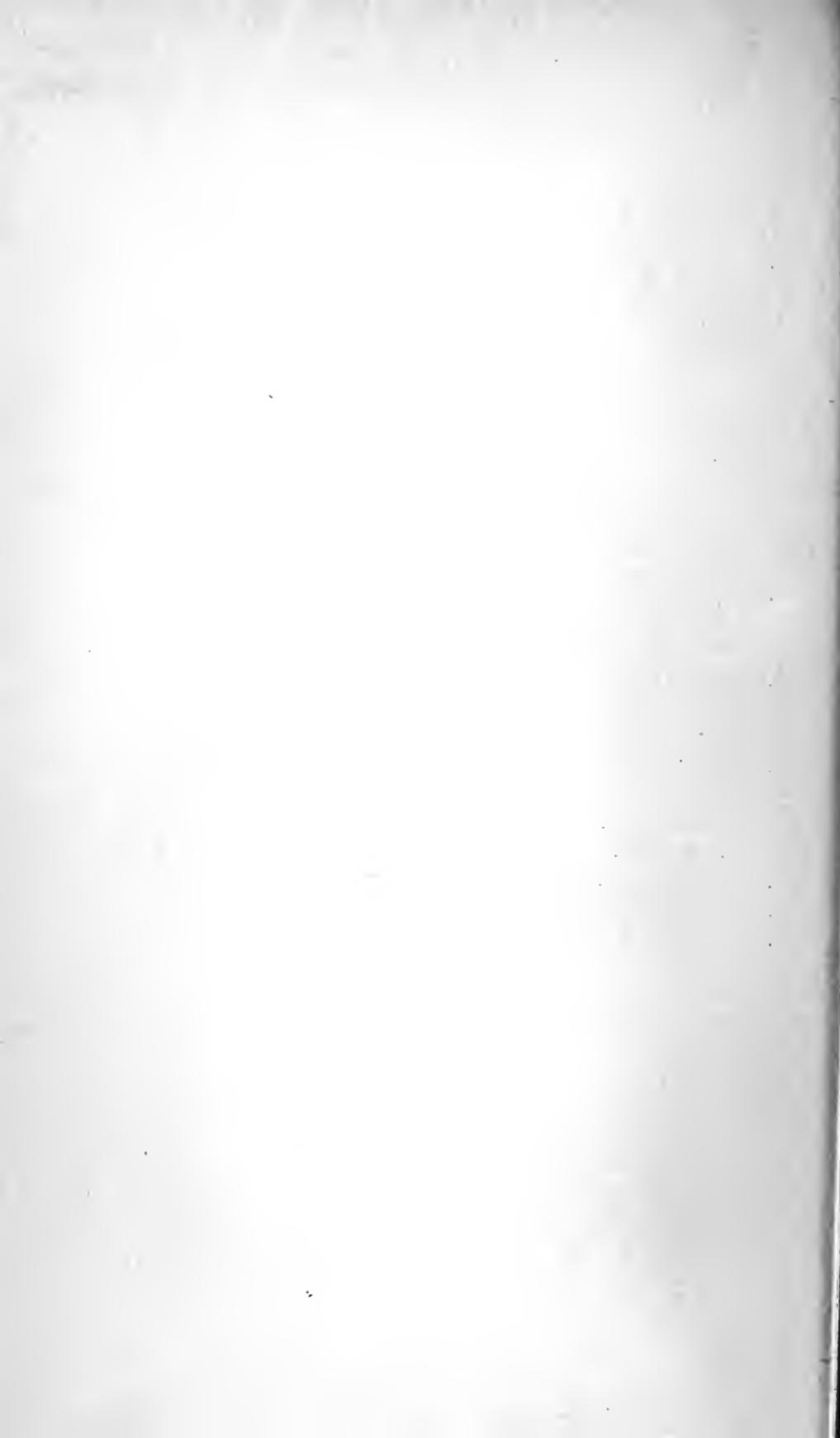
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## The Bishops of St. Andrews

### I

THE death of Malcolm Ceanmore and his queen, St. Margaret of Scotland, has been chosen as a starting-point. Those who are interested in the tangled problems connected with the earlier bishops who had their seat at Kilrymont (St. Andrews), and who represented the early Celtic Christianity of the country, will consult Dr. W. F. Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, ii. 323-55).

Anglo-Norman influence in matters ecclesiastical, which had already made itself felt during the reign of Malcolm, became dominant after his death (1093). The decadent Celtic clergy were incapable of seriously stemming the inflowing tide ; and in almost all respects the ecclesiastical arrangements of Scotland became soon assimilated to those of the southern kingdom.

**TURGOT** (Turgod), prior of Durham. Perhaps the confessor of Queen Margaret and author of the *Vita S. Margarete*.

Simeon of Durham (edit. Arnold, ii. 205, 249) twice states that Turgot died 1115, and adds that his episcopate was for eight years, two months, and ten days. Now his consecration was on [Sunday] 1 Aug. 1109 (M. s.a.), and his death was on 31 Aug. 1115 (Id. s.a.; *Lib. Vitae Eccl. Dunelm.* 145, 151). His episcopate must accordingly have been reckoned by Simeon from the date of his election, which gives us 20 June (?), 1107. Simeon (ii. 204) tells us that Turgot was elected, and that 'for a year and more' his ordination (*i.e.* consecration) was delayed on account of dissensions between the churches of York and St. Andrews. This fits in well with the inferential date of the election.

In the end he was consecrated by Archbishop Thomas of York, at the command of Henry I., king of England, on the request of King Alexander. The disputes were suspended for the time by the reservation of the rights of both sees. Simeon of Durham gives 'iii. kal. Aug. (30 July) die Dominica' as the date of his consecration.<sup>1</sup> But Hoveden (i. 167, Stubbs' edit.), who had Simeon before him, writes 'in kal. Aug.' And this date is also given by M. (s.a. 1109), and by Florence of Worcester (s.a. 1109), who notices that it was the *Sunday* on which Thomas received the pall. Further 'iii. kal. Aug.' was not a Sunday in that year, while 'kal. Aug.' was. And the common law of the Church was that bishops should be consecrated on Sunday. Therefore we may conclude that the consecration of Turgot took place on Sunday, 1 Aug. 1109. It is not difficult to account for the error in the text of Simeon as printed. Nothing would be easier than for a copyist to mistake 'in kal. Aug.' for 'iii kal. Aug.'<sup>2</sup>

It is right to notice the perplexing statement of *Scotichronicon* (vi. 24). Under the year 1109 the chronicler writes 'Turgotus, Prior Dunelmensis, electus est in translatione S. Augustini, et consecratus stetit episcopus fere septem annis.' Setting aside the fact that he was consecrated only six years and thirty days, we have to ask what is meant by 'in translatione S. Augustini.' Was the S. Augustine the bishop of Hippo or the bishop of Canterbury? None of the calendars which the editor has been able to consult give a translation of either saint in the month of June. Could it be that 'in translatione S. Aedwardi' was incorrectly read by a copyist? The suggestion is somewhat desperate; but the writer of these Notes has nothing better to offer.

Turgot died at Durham 31 Aug. 1115 (M. s.a. and *Lib. Vitae Dunelm.*, also letter of Alexander I. to Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, in Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.*), and there was buried.

<sup>1</sup> Bower (Sc. v. 38) also gives 'tertio kalendas Augusti, 1109.'

<sup>2</sup> This view of the origin of the error, which the editor arrived at independently, is that taken by Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils*, II. i. 171), who print most of the evidence available on the subject of Turgot's appointment.

See void from 31 Aug. 1115, to 29 June, 1120.

Almost immediately after the death of Turgot King Alexander wrote to Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, asking his advice and assistance in providing a fit successor to Turgot. It should be remembered that Thomas of York had died (24 Feb. 1113-4) more than a year before Turgot, and that his successor, Thurstan, was not consecrated until 19 Oct. 1119. So that one need not suppose that Alexander would have resorted to Canterbury had the archbishop of York been consecrated. But (probably from the dislike of Ralph to interfere in what the archbishop of York held to be a matter within his jurisdiction) the see of St. Andrews remained void. It was not till 1120 that the archbishop of Canterbury, in response to the request of King Alexander, released Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, with a view to his appointment to St. Andrews.

*EADMER*, a monk of Canterbury.

Elected 29 June, 1120; 'eligente eum clero et populo terrae, et concedente Rege' (Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* v.). There were difficulties about investiture, which however were overcome; and there were more serious difficulties as to who should consecrate him, and as to whether he would owe allegiance and subjection to an English archbishop if he were consecrated by either Canterbury or York. After prolonged disputation between him and the king, Eadmer, who had already rendered himself unpopular, apparently by attempts to enforce a more rigorous discipline, resolved to return to Canterbury. This he did in the following year (1121, *M. s.a.*).

As late as perhaps the early autumn of 1122 (certainly before 19 Sept.) Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, wrote to King Alexander urging him to recall Eadmer to Scotland, but in vain.<sup>1</sup>

He is named 'Edmund' in *M.* and in *Scotichronicon* (vi. 24); but the latter hastens to add that he called himself 'Eadmer.' While *M.* is correct in giving 1120 as the date of his election, and 1121 as the date of his return to his monastery, *Scotichronicon* (*l.c.*) is in error in making his election in 1117. The

<sup>1</sup> The principal documents relating to Eadmer in relation to St. Andrews are exhibited conveniently in Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils*, II. i. 196-208).

transactions connected with Eadmer are dealt with very fully by himself (*Historia Novorum*).

Eadmer became precentor of Canterbury, and died 13 Jan. 1123-4.<sup>1</sup>

**ROBERT**, prior of Scone.<sup>2</sup>

*Scotichronicon* (vi. 24) tells us that there are two accounts of the length of his episcopate, both of these, apparently, placing his death in 1159, with which agrees M. (76-77), and Wyntoun (ii. 199). But C.S.C. (*s.a.*) places his death in 1158.<sup>3</sup> Sc., then, placing his death in 1159 says that one account makes him 'elect' *per biennium*, and consecrated thirty-five years. It is this account which Sc. adopts, for it makes him elected in 1122. The other account, like the first, agrees that he was elect for two years, but makes him consecrated for only thirty-two years. This latter account accordingly by inference places his election in 1125 and his consecration in 1127 or 1128. But the fullness of the statement in M. *sub anno* 1124, brings us probably as near the date of the election of Robert as we are likely to reach. After mentioning the death of King Alexander in April of that year, the Chronicle says, 'in the same year, four months before his death, he had caused Robert, prior of Scone, to be elected bishop of St. Andrews, but his ordination (*i.e.* consecration) was delayed for a considerable time.' Accordingly we shall not be far wrong if we place Robert's election in January, 1123-4, perhaps after the news of Eadmer's death had reached Scotland.

This, if correct, fixes the date of Charter 4 of Scone (granted by Alexander I.), where Robert is elect of St. Andrews and Gregory bishop of Moray.

The delay preceding the consecration of Robert was probably due to some claim on the part of the archbishop of York to a profession of fealty to the see of York. But in the end con-

<sup>1</sup> [The editor of Eadmer's *Historia* in the Rolls series (p. civ) dates his death 1144.]

<sup>2</sup> He had been a canon of St. Oswald's at Nosthill, near Pontefract, in Yorkshire, and was brought thence, with five other canons regular of St. Austin, to Scone (Sc. vi. Preface) in 1115 (M. *s.a.*).

<sup>3</sup> So the copy known to Keith; but the Bannatyne Club edition reads 1159.

secreration was given by Thurstan, archbishop of York, without any profession of obedience being exacted.<sup>1</sup>

The date of Robert's consecration seems to be a matter of inference from the *data* already supplied. 'Per biennum' is somewhat vague; but if it may be trusted, we can hardly place his consecration later than sometime in 1126. The continuator of Florence of Worcester, indeed, places the consecration of Robert in 1128, under which year it appears as the first event recorded. And probably on the strength of this statement the year 1128 is commonly given as the year.<sup>2</sup> But there is extant a charter of 'Rodbertus Dei gratia Sancti Andree episcopus' quitclaiming cain, conveth, etc., to the priory of Coldingham, which is dated 'xvi. kalendas Augusti in festo Sancti Kenelmi martyris (17 July)' in the year 1127 (see *National MSS. of Scotland*, i. No. 27). Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils*, II. i. 213) print the charter, but they insert in the heading, summarising the contents, the word 'elect' after bishop of St. Andrews. Stubbs, however, seems to have, on consideration, rejected the date 1128 as given by the continuator of Florence of Worcester, for in the second edition of *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum* (p. 44)<sup>3</sup> he gives 1127 as the year of Robert's consecration.<sup>4</sup>

Thurstan had assisting in the consecration Ranulph, bishop of Durham, and Ralph 'ad Orcadas insulas iam olim in episcopum ordinatum' (*Contin. Florent. Wigorn.* ii. 89, edit. Thorpe), and, perhaps, John, bishop of Glasgow (Raine's *Historians of the Church of York*, iii. 51).

There does not seem to be any good reason for doubting that the consecration took place in 1126, or, possibly, 1127.

<sup>1</sup> See Thurstan's acknowledgment in Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils*, II. i. 215).

<sup>2</sup> If the consecration took place in this year, it must have been before 5 Sept., when Ranulph, bishop of Durham, one of the consecrators, died (*Contin. Florent. Wigorn.*, s.a. 1128).

<sup>3</sup> Published 1897, several years after the second volume of the *Councils*.

<sup>4</sup> In the charter referred to above there appears as a witness 'Rodberto fratre meo.' The recurrence of the same name among the children of one family is familiar to charter scholars.

Charter evidence: there is an undated charter in which Robert appears as 'elect of St. Andrews' in the reign of David I. (Dunfermline, p. 15). He also appears frequently as 'bishop' in the same reign (R.G. 11, 13; R.P.S.A. 182, 185, 187, etc.).

There is a charter of Robert's (time of King David, Queen Matilda, and Prince Henry) confirming the freedom of Kelso to choose any bishop in Scotland (or Cumbria) for their ordinations and their chrism and oils (Kelso, 339).

He is described as oppressed by age and infirmity in a bull of Pope Adrian IV., dated 3 Id. Aug., but apparently without the year (see the original in Advocates' Library). Adrian's pontificate ran from 3 Dec. 1154 to 1 Sept. 1159. An English translation of the bull is in Lyon's *History of St. Andrews*, i. 71-72. Lyon is obviously wrong in giving the year as 1154. It is said by Sir Harris Nicolas (*Chronology of History*, ed. 1843, p. 200) that 'few of Adrian's bulls are dated by the year of his pontificate.' [The bull is dated at Narni, where Adrian IV. is known to have been in August, 1156 and 1158 (see Mas Latrie, *Trésor de Chronologie*). Sir Archibald Lawrie (*Annals of Malcolm and William, Kings of Scotland*, p. 24) assigns it to 1156.]

Robert's death (see above) is assigned to 1158, or, more probably, 1159.<sup>1</sup>

The see vacant for a year or more.

<sup>1</sup> *WALTHEVE* (Waltheof, Waldeve). If we may credit a not very trustworthy writer, but one who in this instance may probably be accepted, Jocelin of Furness (cited in Sc. vi. 25), on the death of Robert, Waltheve, abbot of Melrose, on the petition of the people, by the choice of the clergy (*cleri electio*) and with the assent of the princes, was chosen to succeed. The magnates of the land and the clergy came to Melrose to press the matter; and the abbot of Rievaulx, who happened to be present, urged him to accept the office. But from motives of piety and a presentiment that he was not long to live, he firmly declined. The abbot was a son of Matilda, queen of Scotland, by her first husband, Simon de St. Liz, earl of Northampton and Huntingdon. He was afterwards known as St. Waltheof. See Jocelin's *Vita S. Waltheui* in the Bollandists, AA. SS. August. i. 248-77. Waltheve died 3 Aug. 1159 (M. s.a.).

**ÆRNALD** (Ernald, Ernold, Arnold), second abbot of Kelso. He had been made abbot in 1147 on the elevation of his predecessor, Herbert, to the see of Glasgow (M. *s.a.*).

Elected to St. Andrews 13 Nov. (St. Brice's day), which was a Sunday, 1160 (M. *s.a.*).<sup>1</sup>

Consecrated on the following Sunday, 20 Nov., 'in veteri ecclesia' at St. Andrews, in the presence of King Malcolm, by William, bishop of Moray, legate of the Apostolic See (M. *s.a.*; Sc. vi. 35).<sup>2</sup>

There is charter evidence, which it is unnecessary to cite more particularly, in Newbattle, Dunfermline, and R.P.S.A.

He died 13 Sept. 1162 (Sc. vi. 35; C.S.C. *s.a.*): and, for the year, M. *s.a.*) Sc. (*ib.*) says he was bishop for one year, ten months, and seventeen days, which is obviously wrong. His death is placed by W. (ii. 200) in 1163, and the same writer says he was buried in the 'awld kirk' which is probably to be taken for the church of St. Regulus. He founded the 'great church' of St. Andrews (Sc. *l.c.*).

**RICHARD**: 'capellanus regis Malcolmi' (Sc. vi. 35; M. *s.a.* 1163). [Nephew of Alwin, abbot of Edinburgh (*i.e.* Holyrood) (*Chronicon Anglo-Scoticum*, edit. Bouterwek, *s.a.*).]

Elected 1163 (M. *s.a.*); elected *concorditer* (W. ii. 200). This falls in well with a writ (No. 5) in the Chartulary of Scone (cited by K.) where 'Richard elect of St. Andrews' is a witness in the eleventh year of King Malcolm, that is the year ending 23 May, 1164.

Richard, 'elect of St. Andrews,' witnesses a charter of King Malcolm with Herbert, bishop of Glasgow, and Engelram, chancellor, 'apud oppidum Puellarum' (Cambusk. No. 50).

W. (ii. 200) says that he 'Elyte twa yhere bad efftyr,' *i.e.* after his election.

Consecrated on Palm Sunday, 'que tunc evenit v kalendas Aprilis,' 1165,<sup>3</sup> at St. Andrews in Scotland, by bishops of the

<sup>1</sup> It has been verified that 13 Nov. in this year fell on Sunday.

<sup>2</sup> The legate's assent was probably taken as equivalent to a papal confirmation.

<sup>3</sup> By independent calculation the fact that Palm Sunday fell on 28 March (v. Kal. April.), in the year 1165, has been verified.

same land (M. *s.a.*), in the presence of the king (Sc. vi. 35). Wyntoun (*I.c.*) says that the bishops of Scotland 'be the Papys lettrys speciall' gave him confirmation and consecration. This is exactly what we might have expected from other cases where evidence is forthcoming.

Sc. (vi. 35) would lead one to suppose that Richard was elected as well as consecrated in 1165. But the text of Sc. goes on to say of Richard 'electus stetit per biennium et confirmatus xij. annis et uno mense,' and places his death in 1177 on 'tertio nonas Maii.' Which shows that Sc. really agrees with M. as to the date of Richard's election.<sup>1</sup>

Richard died 1178 (M. *s.a.*), which date is supported by W. (ii. 211). Sc. (vi. 35) gives 5 May, 1177; but again in another place (viii. 25) the year 1178 is given by the same writer (Bower in both cases). *Liber Vitae Eccl. Dunelm.* (p. 143) gives 'iii. Id. Maii' as his obit; but the other testimonies seem more fitted to be regarded. He died in the infirmary of the canons of St. Andrews (Sc. *I.c.*).<sup>2</sup> [Chron. *Anglo-Scot.* dates his death in the summer of 1179.]

JOHN, called the Scot, though by birth an Englishman (born according to Sc. vi. 35 at the vill of Podoth in the county of Chester). He had studied first at Oxford and afterwards at Paris. After a short stay at his home on his return from the schools, he went to St. Andrews, where he was honourably received by Bishop Richard, who on a vacancy occurring made him archdeacon of St. Andrews. After the death of Richard he was unanimously elected by the chapter in the year 1178

<sup>1</sup> In 1173 Richard confirms an agreement between Melrose and the church of Dunbar on tithes (Melrose, 41). We have a deed of Richard (together with J., bishop of Glasgow) of 1177 (but no month or day). (Kelso, 343.)

<sup>2</sup> The above statements as to the dates of the election and consecration of Richard serve to correct the date ('ante 1165') assigned by Mr. Cosmo Innes to a charter of King Malcolm, witnessed by 'Ricardo episcopo Sancti Andree' (R.G. i. 16). It must be assigned to some date between 28 March, 1165, and 9 Dec. of the same year when Malcolm died.

Incidentally we have a notice of the bishop's brother, Robert, and his sister Avicia (R.P.S.A. 134). Robert occurs also Paisley, 116.

(M. *s.a.*) or (in error) 1177 (Sc. vi. 35) in the presence of the papal legate Cardinal John de Caelio Monte.<sup>1</sup>

**HUGH**, chaplain of King William, the Lion, *intruded*. The election of John had been without the knowledge of the king; and not only did he not give his consent to the result of the election, but he caused his own chaplain, Hugh, to be consecrated (1178, M. *s.a.*: 1177, Sc. vi. 35) for the church of St. Andrews, and expelled John from the kingdom. John laid his case before the pope (Alexander III.) who quashed the election of Hugh.<sup>2</sup> The pope sent Alexius (incorrectly called Alexis in Sc. vi. 36) as his legate to Scotland.<sup>3</sup> Alexius was with difficulty admitted to the kingdom. He soon caused John to be consecrated in the church of Holyrood Abbey in the presence of the legate and of four bishops, a fifth bishop, who was absent through sickness, giving his assent in writing.<sup>4</sup> The principal consecrator was Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen, who is said to have been John's maternal uncle.

As to the date of John's consecration there is some confusion among the authorities. There is no question that the year was 1180. But as to the day there are differences. C.S.C. [or rather its expanded form, *Chron. Anglo-Scot.*] (*s.a.*), which (as the consecration took place at Holyrood) is not improbably accurate, says 'the octave of Pentecost.' In M. (*s.a.* 1180) we read 'octavis pentecostes, scilicet, vi. idus Junii' which is true only when we take 'vi. idus Junii' to refer to Pentecost (which fell on 8 June in that year) and not to its octave. In Sc. vi. 36 we read 'die Sanctae Trinitatis, vi. idus Junii,' which error may have arisen from a misunderstanding of M. Stubbs (Hoveden, ii. 209 note) remarks that the ceremony having taken place at Holyrood, the chronicle of that abbey is on this matter the best

<sup>1</sup> That is, of St. Stephen in Caelio Monte. It would seem that he is called cardinal by anticipation. See Ciaconius, *Vitae et res gestae*, etc. (i. 1159). His election to the college is assigned to 1191.

<sup>2</sup> From this expression, occurring in the pope's letters, which Hoveden (ii. 209) has preserved, it would seem that there had been the form of a canonical election in the case of Hugh.

<sup>3</sup> Alexius was at the time the pope's sub-deacon, and was afterwards (1188) created a cardinal by Clement III. See Ciaconius, i. 1140.

<sup>4</sup> See the pope's letter in Hoveden (ii. 210).

authority. The date therefore may probably be held to be 15 June, 1180.

The struggle between the king and John, or rather the pope, defending the rights of the Church, is part of the civil history of Scotland, and cannot be recounted here. It must suffice to say that the controversy was partially adjusted in 1183, when both John and Hugh resigned their rights, or pretended rights, into the hands of the pope, who was now Lucius III. Lucius soon granted St. Andrews to Hugh; and, Dunkeld having fallen vacant and John having been elected *concorditer* to that see, the pope confirmed him therein (Sc. vi. 40). But difficulties were still made by the king, and both Hugh and John returned to Italy to submit their present difficulties to the Apostolic See. After various incidents in the course of which Hugh was suspended and afterwards excommunicated, King William in 1188 consented that John should hold Dunkeld, together with such revenues as he had before his consecration. In that year (or perhaps 1187) Hugh again passed to Rome to obtain absolution from the sentence of excommunication. This he obtained, and died, a few days after, of the pestilence about six miles outside Rome on 4 August, 1188 (Sc. vi. 41).

From an ecclesiastical view-point Hugh can be accounted bishop of St. Andrews only from 1183 to 4 August, 1188. Sc. (vi. 41) represents him as bishop for 'ten years and as many months'; but though this, no doubt, is calculated from his *de facto* election, it would seem to be wrong. There is often evidence of much looseness in such calculations by Bower.

In charters, as might be expected, he appears as 'Bishop of St. Andrews' before his claims were allowed by the pope. An example will be found in R.B. ii. 269.

John, the Scot, survived till 1203, when, at Neubottle, he assumed the habit of a monk on his death-bed (Sc. vi. 41).<sup>1</sup>

**ROGER DE BEAUMONT**, son of Robert, earl of Leicester: cousin of King William, Ada, mother of William being sister of the earl; chancellor of the king of Scots (Sc. vi. 42).

Elected at Perth, 13 April, 1189 (M. *s.a.*). It is to be noted that M. states that the day of the week was Friday (feria vj.).

<sup>1</sup> Hugh seems to have had two brothers—Robert, canon of Edinburgh, *i.e.* of Holyrood, and Andrew (Cambusk. No. 191).

But 13 April in 1189 fell on Thursday. Sc. (vi. 42) gives the same year, month, and day of the week. The following year (1190) meets the conditions; and I am not aware of any other evidence to help us to determine the question as to the year. The place of election is worth observing; perhaps it was chosen as allowing royal influence to be more effective, Perth being a frequent place of royal residence.

After a long delay of nearly ten years, or (if the year of election be 1190) of nearly nine years, Roger was consecrated on the first Sunday in Lent (15 Feb.), 1198, at St. Andrews, in the presence of the king (M.; Sc. vi. 42) by Richard, bishop of Moray (Sc.); by Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen (Hoveden, iv. 31). From Hoveden (*l.c.*) it appears that Roger had not received priest's orders till the time of his consecration. The fact that Hoveden places Roger's consecration in 1197 need not seriously disturb us. He perhaps meant 1197-8; and, in any case, he is rather careless in matters of chronology, as has been pointed out by Stubbs (Preface to Hoveden, vol. iv., xxv). But after all there seems to be a year's difference between the year intended by Hoveden and that intended by *Scotichronicon*, for the latter (vi. 42) says 'stetit electus x. annis, et consecratus iij. annis cum dimidio.' This statement, when compared with the date of his death (see below), shows that Bower understood 1198 to mean 1198-9. The method of the chronicle of Melrose is different; the year begins on 25 Dec. or possibly 1 Jan. And that chronicle places Roger's consecration, as stated above, in 1198. The weight of evidence seems in favour of 1197-8.

There is a mandate of Innocent III., dated vi. Kal. Mart. 1199 [*i.e.* 1198-9], addressed to 'R., bishop of St. Andrews' (C.P.R. i. 5), which goes to confirm the belief that Roger's consecration was not later than the year 1198.

Roger, elect of St. Andrews, is a witness along with Jocelin, bishop of Glasgow (Newbattle, 53). Roger 'episcopus Scotorum' confirms the church of Clackmannan to Cambuskenneth Kal. Julii, '3d year of our pontificate,' which must be 1 July, 1200 (Cambusk. No. 59). [He twice confirms an agreement as to tithes between the abbey of Coupar and the church of Errol, once as elect and once as bishop; probably just before and just after his consecration, for the list of witnesses is practically the

same in the two charters (Coupas Charters, *penes* Earl of Moray).]

Roger [was present at the legatine council at Perth in Dec. 1201 (Coupas Charters). He] died 7 July (Non. Julii), 1202, at Cambuskenneth, and was buried in the old church of St. Andrews (M. s.a.; Sc. vi. 42). Wyntoun (ii. 228), generally trustworthy, makes a curious blunder in placing Roger's death in the thirty-second year of King William.

**WILLIAM MALVOISINE** (Malvycyne), bishop of Glasgow.<sup>1</sup> Postulated for translation to St. Andrews at Scone on 20 Sept. (xij. Kal. Oct.), being Friday, 1202 (Sc. vi. 42).

20 Sept. in this year did fall on Friday. Scone was a royal residence; note what has been said under Roger de Beaumont.

A charge was made against William by Eustace, one of the canons of St. Andrews, that before his postulation had been approved by the Apostolic See he had at St. Andrews exercised his office in things spiritual as well as temporal, and had on the Saturday in ember week in September (three days after his postulation) conferred orders as bishop of St. Andrews (T. No. 6). It is worthy of observation that in this charge it is said that his postulation was on the Wednesday (*feria quarta*) preceding, while Sc. (*ut supra*) places the postulation and translation on Friday. The September ember-days are the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday after 14 Sept. Now in the year 1202 14 Sept. fell on Saturday, therefore the ember-days were 18, 20, and 21 Sept. Excepting as regards the day of the week on which the postulation took place, the statement in the accusation of Eustace hangs well together with the statement of Sc.

Bishop William's translation according to Wyntoun (ii. 229)—

‘Wes that tyme done be a Legat  
That cald than wes Ihon be name  
At the instans off the Kyng Willame.’

If this is correct it will account for William's having at once

<sup>1</sup>[See under Glasgow.] The current form of the name is given as 'Mauvaisin' in *Chron. de Lanercost* (4). Apart from the name we have evidence that he belonged to France, for in 1211 'de voluntate et licentia domini regis transfretavit patriam suam et parentes (? apud) Gallias visitaturus' (Sc. viii. 78).

proceeded to exercise episcopal functions in ordaining. The legate was John of Salerno, cardinal presbyter (of St. Stephen in Caelio Monte). He held a council at Perth early in December, 1201; and spent more than fifty days at Melrose in 1202 (M.), probably after his return from Ireland. William died 9 July, 1238, at Inchmordauch,<sup>1</sup> and was buried in the new church of St. Andrews (Sc. vi. 42).<sup>2</sup>

*GEOFFREY* (Galfridus), bishop of Dunkeld,<sup>3</sup> postulated; but the postulation disallowed by the pope.

Wyntoun (VII. chap. ix. vol. ii. 244) writes—

‘And efttyre that this Willame [Malvoisine] was dede,  
 Thare postulyd intill his sted  
 Off Dunkeldyn the Byschape  
 Joffray. Bot till hym the Pape  
 Be na way grawnt wald hys gud will;  
 Bot leve the chanownys he gave till  
 Agayne to mak electyown,  
 And for to ches a gud persoun.’

Sc. (vi. 42) places the postulation of Geoffrey in 1238, and adds that it did not obtain the favour of the pope and of Alexander II. At least as regards the pope the statement is confirmed by T. (No. 98), a letter of Gregory IX., dated 12 Feb. 1238-9, addressed to the prior and convent of St. Andrews declaring that the postulation of the bishop of Dunkeld he had not admitted, ‘non vitio personae,’ but because he considered that neither urgent necessity nor evident utility required it. He, however, restored to the prior and convent the right to proceed to a canonical election of a fit person. This affords a good example of the value of Wyntoun’s record.

<sup>1</sup> Inchmurtach,—a manor of the bishops of St. Andrews.

<sup>2</sup> [He was one of six bishops present at a council in Dundee in 1230, and put his seal, with that of his chapter, to an agreement between the abbeys of Arbroath and Balmerino as to the church of Faithmureve, now Barry (Moray charter chest).]

<sup>3</sup> This is Galfridus de Liberatione (Sc. ix. 52) appointed to Dunkeld in 1236 (M. s.a.).

DAVID DE BERNHAM, chamberlain<sup>1</sup> of the king.<sup>2</sup>

Sc. (vi. 42) tells that in 1239, leave having been obtained from the king and the pope to proceed to a fresh election, on 3 June, David was elected *concorditer, per viam compromissi*. The result was submitted to the pope (Gregory IX.), and he committed (1 Oct. 1239) to the bishops of Glasgow, Caithness, and Brechin to inquire into the election and the fitness of the elect; and, if they were satisfied, they were by the pope's authority to confirm the election, and, after taking from David the oath of fealty to the Roman See, to bestow the gift of consecration (T. No. 100). W. (ii. 244) states that the consecrators were the bishops of Glasgow, Brechin, and Caithness.

In the letter referred to (T. No. 100) the pope gives his reason for transferring the examination of the election to the three bishops. Of the three canons sent as proctors from St. Andrews to lay the deed of election before the pope one had died, another was detained by serious illness, and the pope did not think fit to act on the testimony of the only remaining proctor, Master Richard Vairement.

As to the mode of the election, Sc. is confirmed by the pope's letter. The prior and four of the canons were granted by the convent the power of making the election; and they unanimously chose Master David de Bernham, subdeacon, chamberlain of the king. It is added that it had been represented to the pope that the king's assent had been given to the result of the election.

Consecrated by the bishops of Glasgow, Caithness, and Brechin at St. Andrews, on St. Vincent's day (22 Jan.), 1239-40 (Sc. vi. 42, ix. 56), which falls in with the pope's commission in T. (No. 100). The day was Sunday. We find David, bishop of St. Andrews, on St. Andrew's day, 1240, at St.

<sup>1</sup> We find Master David de Beringham, chamberlain, witnessing a charter of Alexander II. 8 Oct. 1235 (Newbattle, 17): also a witness in 1238 (Charters of Inchaffray, p. 56).

<sup>2</sup> In R.P.S.A. (p. 272) we find Robert de Bernham 'burgensis de Berwick' making a grant of four shillings a year *ad luminare*, out of land in Berwick. Among the witnesses is 'Magistro David, fratre meo, camerario domini regis.' And see W. ii. 244; also T. No. 100.

Andrews (Kelso, 322). He is at Inchemurthac 10 Nov. 1240 (R.P.S.A. 164); and on the day of the translation of S. Thomas Martyr (7 July), 1242 (Cambusk. No. 110). He is at Kelso 26 June, 1247 (Kelso, 336). He gave the church of Sconin (Scoonic) to the fabric of the church of St. Andrews, 4 Nov. 1241 (R.P.S.A. 168). He granted a confirmation to Kelso 8 Sept. 1251 (Kelso, 326). See also Kelso, 330.<sup>1</sup>

David de Bernham died 1253 (M. *s.a.*), on 26 April, 1253 (Sc. vi. 42; Lanercost, 58), at 'Narthanthira,' and was buried at Kelso (*ib.*).

There is little doubt that Wyntoun (ii. 254) is in error in placing De Bernham's death in 1252.

Narthanthira has been supposed to be Narthanshire or Narthashire (Nathanthern), now Nenthorn in Berwickshire, about four miles to the north-west of Kelso. Wyntoun (*l.c.*) makes the place of his burial his own choice—

'He chesyd hys layre in till Kelsew;  
Noucht in the kyrk off Sayntandrewē.'

*ROBERT DE STUTEVILLE, dean of Dunkeld.*

Elected, *per viam compromissi*, on 28 June, 1253; but the election was not admitted by the king, urged, as is alleged, by Master Abel, archdeacon of St. Andrews (Sc. vi. 43). An appeal was made to the pope, and the prior and canons of St. Andrews sent the elect to the pope, while the king sent Abel with others to oppose the confirmation. According to Sc. (*ib.*) falsity prevailed over truth, and the election was quashed but (T. No. 162) *non personae vitio*.<sup>2</sup>

**ABEL**,<sup>3</sup> archdeacon of St. Andrews and (T. No. 164) papal chaplain.

On 20 Feb. 1253-4, the pope intimates to the chapter of St. Andrews that the election of the dean of Dunkeld had been opposed by the provost and chapter of the Keledei of St. Andrews

<sup>1</sup>[The 'Pontificale' used by him (ed. Canon Chr. Wordsworth, 1885) records the dates of his dedications of 140 churches and chapels between 1240 and 1249.]

<sup>2</sup>R. de Stuteville was afterwards bishop of Dunkeld, which see.

<sup>3</sup>[In Law's MS. he is called Abel de Golynn (D. Hay Fleming's *Handbook of St. Andrews and Neighbourhood*, 1910).]

and by the archdeacon, Master Abel. The grounds of the opposition are stated, but need not be detailed here. The pope declares the election null, and, of the plenitude of the apostolic power, provides Abel to the bishopric, and commands the chapter to receive him and render him obedience (T. No. 162). On 18 March, 1253-4, the pope writes to the king, and at that date Abel is spoken of as 'now bishop' (T. No. 164). This falls in with Sc. (x. 8), which says that Abel was consecrated by the pope. *Chron. de Lanercost* (58) gives the first Sunday in Lent, 1253 (*i.e.* 1253-4), as the date of his consecration. That Sunday fell on 1 March.

It was generally believed in Scotland that Abel obtained the see unfairly. W. (ii. 255) says 'That [the see] he purchast at the Pape'; but the old sense of the word 'purchase,' as equivalent to 'procure,' makes one hesitate to infer that W. thought that the see was bought.

Abel was at Durham on 2 June, 1254 (probably on his return journey northwards), and granted an indulgence of forty days to those visiting the shrine of St. Cuthbert or the Galilee of Durham Cathedral (see Raine, *North Durham*, Appendix, p. 89). He must soon have passed on to St. Andrews, for he celebrated his first pontifical mass on 29 June, 1254 (Sc. x. 8). He witnesses a charter in October, 1254 (Dunfermline, 198).

Abel died on the morrow of St. Andrew (1 Dec.), 1254, and was buried in the new church, having held the bishopric 'ten months and two weeks' (Sc. vi. 43).<sup>1</sup> There was perhaps some evidence known to Bower which showed the *first* Bulls of provision were dated in the middle of January.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. de Lanercost* places his death on 31 Aug. 1254: but the Dunfermline charter shows this to be an error.

<sup>2</sup> On 16 April, 1248, Innocent IV. grants an indult to Master Abel, canon of Glasgow and papal chaplain, to be ordained priest, and to be elected bishop (but not confirmed or consecrated without papal mandate) notwithstanding that he is son of a priest: C.P.R. i. 244. This is presumably the person afterwards bishop of St. Andrews. He is evidently, apart from the fact that he was a papal chaplain, a person trusted by the pope, for on 29 May, 1248, the pope commands him to make order as seemed to him expedient about certain

**GAMELINE**, chancellor of the king and papal chaplain (13 Feb. 1253-4—T. No. 161), was postulated on the first Sunday in Lent, 1254 (Sc. vi. 43), which works out as 14 Feb. 1254-5. M. (s.a. 1254) says he was elected by the prior and convent of St. Andrews, presumably referring to the Keledei being refused a voice in the election.

Gameline is confirmed by Pope Alexander IV. on 1 July, 1255; and the letter of confirmation (T. No. 176) explains why the word 'postulated' was used by Sc. He suffered from defect of birth, being *ex soluto genitus et soluta*. The letter recites that on the death of Abel, the prior and chapter convened, and proceeded *per viam compromissi*, appointing nine of their number to make choice of a bishop either by election or postulation. The choice fell on Gameline, papal chaplain and chancellor of Alexander, king of Scotland. Four persons, Robert de Prebenda, dean of Dunblane, Simon of Kynros, clerk, and brothers Helyas and Alan, canons of St. Andrews, were sent by the prior and chapter to the pope with the postulation.<sup>1</sup> The pope dispenses for defect of birth, and confirms. A letter of the same date (T. No. 176 *ad finem*) was addressed by the pope to the bishop of Glasgow commanding him, in the usual terms, to associate with him two other bishops, chosen by the bishop elect, and to confer on Gameline the gift of consecration. He is still 'elect' on 20 Sept. 1255 (B.C. i. No. 2013), at which date he had been removed from the council of the king for offences against the king of England; and on 22 Dec. 1255 he is still elect (Dunfermline, 120).

The consecration by William, bishop of Glasgow, was on *secundo die natalis Domini, quo dominica habebatur, 1255* (Sc. vi. 43; M.). 26 Dec. did fall on Sunday in 1255. The delay between the papal confirmation and the consecration may be

churches in the diocese of St. Andrews, which certain religious were holding and applying to their own uses to the prejudice of the churches (T. No. 136; C.P.R. i. 245).

<sup>1</sup> These proctors obtained a faculty from Alexander IV. (23 June, 1255) to contract a loan of £500 new sterling to pay their expenses binding the bishop-elect and the chapter to repay (C.P.R. i. 319).

accounted for by opposition on the part of the king and the members of his council. Gameline's banishment in the following year is attributed by M. (s.a. 1256) partly to his opposing the designs of the king's councillors, and partly because he refused to give them money, *quasi pro emptione sui episcopatus*.<sup>1</sup>

We have a deed of Gameline's dated St. Andrews, Tuesday, within the octaves of the Ascension (27 May), 1270 (Kelso, 329-330).

Gameline died on the morrow of St. Vitalis, Martyr (which feast is celebrated on 28 April), 1271, at Inchmurdauch, and was buried in the 'new church,' close to the great altar (Sc. vi. 43). Wyntoun concurs as to the year of Gameline's death (ii. 258).<sup>2</sup>

**WILLIAM WISCHARD** (Wiscard, Wishart, Wishard).

He was at the time elect of Glasgow, and was postulated 3 June, 1271, little more than one month after the death of his predecessor.<sup>3</sup> The Keledei were excluded from the election (Sc. vi. 43).

<sup>1</sup> On 31 July, 1255, Pope Alexander IV. gives leave to Master Gameline, bishop elect of St. Andrews, to retain for two years from his consecration the benefices which he had before his postulation. This is granted because of the debts on his church and the repairs which it and other buildings needed (T. No. 178).

<sup>2</sup> Lanercost (84) is wrong in placing his death in 1268, for he confirms a charter 14 April, 1271 (North Berwick, 23).

Two charters (1 Aug. 1248 and 2 Sept. 1248) make mention of Gamaliel (*sic*) bishop of St. Andrews (R.P.S.A. 121, 178). The dates (if genuine) are fatal to identifying Gamaliel and Gameline. But one cannot but suspect that the charters (if not wholly forgeries) belong to the time of Gameline, and were subsequently furnished with dates by some ignorant scribe who wrongly expanded a contracted form of the name Gameline.

<sup>3</sup> Sc. (vi. 43) says the postulation was on 2 June (iv. Non Iunii); but we are so fortunate as to possess the draft of the letter of the chapter announcing the election and praying for the pope's confirmation (R.M. 338). There it is said that the assent of the king having been, 'iuxta regni consuetudinem,' sought and obtained, they appointed the *morrow* of SS. Marcellinus and Peter (which feast

It is not till 15 March, 1272-3, that we find the pope, Gregory X., remitting to the bishops of Moray, Aberdeen, and Argyle to inquire into the character of the elect.<sup>1</sup> The papal letter states that the pope was satisfied as to the canonical character of the election (which had been *per viam compromissi*) of 'William, our chaplain, archdeacon of the same church (St. Andrews),' but was not satisfied as to the qualifications of the elect. If the fore-named bishops were satisfied as to the qualifications of the elect, they were to consecrate him, after receiving the oath of fidelity to Rome (T. No. 256). This letter makes no allusion to William as being elect of Glasgow. Probably Sc. is incorrect in using the word postulated instead of elected, for the former word would not have been appropriate in the case of one who had not been actually consecrated already, unless he suffered from some other canonical impediment, which is not alleged in this case.

The consecration of William took place at Scone, on 15 Oct. 1273 (Sc. vi. 43). This works out, as one might expect, as Sunday.

William Wischard died on 28 May, 1279, at Merbotill (in the deanery of Teviotdale), and was buried on 2 June, in the 'new church' at St. Andrews, before the altar: Sc. (vi. 43), which points out that the day of his burial was the anniversary of his election; but, as we have seen, this is in error. Lanercost (103) agrees as to the year of his death.

**WILLIAM FRASER**, chancellor of the kingdom, dean of Glasgow.

On the day of St. Nicholas (6 Dec.), 1279, William Fraser, dean of Glasgow (he does not style himself elect of St. Andrews), is on 2 June, 1271, being Wednesday, for the election. Now, the Sunday Letter for 1271 being D, 2 June fell on Tuesday, which fits in correctly with the statement of the letter of the chapter. The *compromissarii* were seven in number, six of the canons (including John, the prior) and the archdeacon of Lothian. Having gone apart they were unanimous in choosing 'W. the archdeacon of our church.'

<sup>1</sup> Lanercost (92) says: 'In curia magna altercatio super electione Willelmi Wyscardi': the charges made against Wischard are represented as startling the pope.

obliges himself for a debt of 200 lb. sterling incurred by the chapter of Glasgow 'pro arduis nostris negotiis in Curia Romana promovendis.' His brothers, Sir Symon Fraser, knight, and Andrew Fraser, are his 'fidejussores' (R.G. i. 193-5). We cannot but conjecture that this money was for expediting his Bulls.

Elected 4 August, 1279 (Sc. vi. 44). The letter of confirmation from Pope Nicholas III., dated 21 May, 1280, relates that the election was *per viam compromissi*. The 'commissarii' were the prior, the subprior (the text reads probably in error 'superiori'), six canons, and the archdeacon of St. Andrews, all named. They unanimously chose William, then dean of Glasgow. Proctors were sent to Rome, and, according to custom, the decree of the election was examined by three cardinals. The election was confirmed by the pope (T. No. 276).

According to Sc. (vi. 44) Fraser was consecrated at the Roman court by Pope Nicholas on 19 May, 1280.

The letter of confirmation already referred to, dated 21 May, contains the expression 'tibique munus consecrationis *nostris manibus* duximus impendendum.' This is worth noticing; for sometimes the expression that a consecration was by the pope means no more than that it was by his command or commission.<sup>1</sup>

A charter of William, bishop of St. Andrews, to Dryburgh is dated 'apud Lawder die Veneris ante Festum sancte Margarete virginis (18 July) anno gracie M·cc· octogesimo primo' (Dryburgh, 108). He is at Wedale Wednesday next after Holy Cross (17 Sept.), 1281 (Cambusk. No. 1). He is at Holyrood Sunday next before St. Barnabas' day (10 June), 1285 (Newbattle, 49). He is at Falkland 16 May, 1295 (Cambusk. No. 114).

<sup>1</sup> He had served as envoy to England 10 July, 1277; and again 20 Feb. 1277-8; and again 10 April, 1279 (B.C. ii. Nos. 94, 104, 157). 3 Oct. 1289, he and others were accredited to treat with the ambassadors of the king of Norway (*ib.* ii. No. 386). At the end of 1290 the seven earls of Scotland and the community of the realm complain of W., bishop of St. Andrews, and John Comyn as guardians (*ib.* ii. No. 465).

Fraser died 20 August, 1297, at Artuyl (in France), and was buried at Paris in the church of the Preaching Friars (Sc. vi. 44). His heart was brought to Scotland, and by his successor, Lamberton, was deposited in the wall of the church of St. Andrews near the tomb of Bishop Gameline (*ib.*).<sup>1</sup>

**WILLIAM DE LAMBERTON** (Lamberton, Lambyrton), then chancellor of Glasgow.

Elected 5 Nov. 1297,<sup>2</sup> 'exclusis penitus Keldeis tunc, sicut et in duabus electionibus praecedentibus' (Sc. vi. 44). The election was *per viam compromissi*, the 'compromissarii' being the prior, the subprior, the archdeacon, and four others, being canons, all named. The votes were given unanimously for Lamberton, chancellor of the church of Glasgow, who consented within the lawful time, and went to the Apostolic See, with three canons as proctors of the chapter. The election was confirmed by the pope (Boniface VIII.), who caused Lamberton to be consecrated by M[atthew], cardinal bishop of Porto.<sup>3</sup> The consecration would probably be shortly before the letter of the pope dated Rome, at St. Peter's, 17 June, 1298 (T. No. 362). There is no reason for questioning the accuracy of

<sup>1</sup> On 23 March, 1276-7, Master William Fraser, dean of Glasgow, chancellor of Alexander, king of Scotland, receives from Nicholas III. a dispensation to hold one benefice with cure of souls in addition to the deanery and the church of Ar (Ayr), C.P.R. i. 454.

<sup>2</sup> [Fordun (edit. Skene, p. 330) says 3 Nov.]

<sup>3</sup> See Ciaconius (ii. 265). This was Matthew de Aquasparta. He died 1302. According to a representation made by Edward I. to the pope, Lamberton's election was made 'par force et par destresce,' to which the chapter was subjected by William Wallace and his adherents. The king also states that 'Mestre William Comyn frere au Conte de Boghan [Buchan]' was elected (Palgrave's *Documents and Records*, 332, 339). Comyn, it is true, objected to the validity of Lamberton's election, but, so far as appears, only on the ground that he, as provost of the church of St. Mary (in St. Andrews), ought to have been admitted to the celebration of the election, and was in fact excluded. (See the letter of Boniface VIII., 7 May, 1298, to Comyn, printed in Stevenson's *Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland*, ii. 280).

Sc. (vi. 44), who gives 1 June, 1298, as the date of the consecration.<sup>1</sup> He is found returning from Flanders 8 July, 1299 (B.C. ii. No. 1071), and was chosen to be one of the guardians of the realm, 12 Aug. 1299 (*ib.* ii. No. 1978).

There are many examples of Bishop Lamberton's charters bearing his surname, I suppose to avoid the confusion arising from the succession of Williams. He is at Newbattle 21 Nov. 1309 (Newbattle, 50); [at Dundee at the head of the Scottish episcopate recognising King Robert 24 Feb. 1309-10 (A.P. i. 460);] at Dairsie 16 July, 1316 (Newbattle, 129). He grants a confirmation to Dryburgh 13 Jan. 1318-9 (Dryburgh, 243-5). He confirms an agreement between the monks of Newbattle and the vicar of Tranent on the Sunday next before the feast of St. Michael (28 Sept.), 1320 (Newbattle, 112). He is at Torry 10 Nov. 1320 (Cambusk. No. 200); at Liston Wednesday on the feast of St. Dunstan (19 May), 1322 (Newbattle, 113); his seal is appended at Cambuskenneth Friday after Purification of B.V.M. (3 Feb.), 1323-4 (Cambusk. No. 8); [he attends a Scottish Council at Scone in March, 1324-5 (Coupar Charters, *penes* earl of Moray)]; he is with King Robert at Arbroath 10 Jan. 1325-6 (Melrose, 328); and at Lasswade Monday next after the feast of St. Peter *ad Vincula* (3 Aug.), 1327 (Newbattle, 126).

Lamberton died (date not given) in the prior's chamber of the monastery of St. Andrews, and was buried in the great church, on the north of the great altar, 7 June, 1328 (Sc. vi. 44). The place of his grave is more particularly described by W. (ii. 375).

[An account of the revenues during the vacancy of the see is printed] E.R. i. 109, from which one would be led to believe that Lamberton died two days before Whit-Sunday, 1328.

<sup>1</sup> Like Robert Wyschart, bishop of Glasgow, he on several occasions swore fealty to Edward I., and as frequently broke his oath. He was a prisoner (in chains, by order of Edward I., 7 Aug. 1306) at the castle of Winchester (Rymer, i. 996). He again took the oath of fealty to Edward, 11 August, 1308 (*ib.* ii. 54). In Palgrave's *Documents and Records*, i. pp. 328-40, the English view of his conduct is set forth at length. He was freed from Winchester castle to go to Rome 1 June, 1308 (B.C. iii. No. 188).

Whit-Sunday in that year fell on 22 May. The interval between 20 May and 7 June (the day of his burial) seems long.<sup>1</sup>

**JAMES BEN** (Bene, Bane).—In one of the MSS. of *Scotichronicon* (vi. 45) the heading of the chapter gives the name as ‘Jacobus Benedicti.’ Keith (*Catalogue*, Russel’s edit. p. 23) suggests, with probability, that ‘Jacobus Bene dictus’ in a contracted form (‘Jacobus Bene dict’) may have given rise to the reading;<sup>2</sup> archdeacon of St. Andrews (Sc.; W. ii. 375), canon of Aberdeen and prebendary of Cruden (C.P.R. ii. 286).

Twelve days after the burial of Lamberton the chapter proceeded (19 June, 1328) to an election. By calculation we find that the day was a Sunday. Some of the votes were given for James Ben, archdeacon of St. Andrews (and papal chaplain, T. No. 472); and some were given for Alexander Kyninmonth, archdeacon of Lothian. As usual, the number of votes for each is not recorded. Ben was at the time at the papal court, and before the news of the election reached him, he had been advanced to the see by John XXII. Alexander Kyninmonth went to Avignon to prosecute his claim; he found St. Andrews already filled up, but the pope provided him to the see of Aberdeen (Sc. vi. 45).

In a letter of John XXII. to ‘James bishop of St. Andrews’ (T. No. 472) dated Avignon, 1 Aug. 1328, the pope states that during the life of William de Lamberton he had resolved to reserve the see of St. Andrews to his own provision. There is

<sup>1</sup> An attempt was made by Edward I. (repeated by Edward II.) to get the pope to appoint Thomas de Riveriis, a Franciscan, to the see of St. Andrews, which, it was alleged by Edward I., was vacant through the deposition of Lamberton, condemned to perpetual imprisonment as a traitor. Edward II. protested to Pope John XXII. that Clement V. had actually conferred the see on this Thomas. Pope John replied, on 18 Sept. 1317, that the Registers had been carefully searched, and that no record of the appointment of Thomas could be found. He asks King Edward to send him the apostolic letters to which he had referred (T. No. 417). We hear no more of this. Particulars as to the excommunication of the bishops of St. Andrews, Moray, Dunkeld, and Aberdeen by the pope will be found in C.P.R. ii. 191, 192, 199.

<sup>2</sup> Some late writers, thus misled, call him ‘James Bennet.’

no reference to an election by the chapter. James is appointed, and the pope had caused him to be consecrated by Bertrand, bishop of Tusculum.<sup>1</sup> A letter of the pope to King Robert I., dated 15 Oct. 1328, commanding Ben, is printed by T. (No. 473).

James, bishop of St. Andrews, witnesses at Newbattle on Thursday next after St. Peter *ad Vincula* (3 Aug.) 1329 (Newbattle, 163).

After the battle of Dupplyn (12 Aug. 1332) in fear of the English he bade farewell to the prior and canons of St. Andrews, and sailed for Flanders. He arrived shortly afterwards at Bruges, and died 22 Sept. 1332 (Sc. *l.c.*). The date of his death is confirmed by the inscription on his monument in the church of the canons regular of Eckhout (Akewod, Sc.). He is styled in the epitaph 'Iacobus, dominus de Biurt (*sic*), episcopus S. Andreae in Scotia, nostrae religionis.' Keith (from a *memoir* belonging to the Scots College in Paris).

His death was known to the pope before 3 Nov. 1332 (C.P.R. ii. 384).<sup>2</sup>

After the death of Ben the see was long vacant; according to Sc. (vi. 45) for nine years, five months and eight days.<sup>3</sup> It

<sup>1</sup> This cardinal was a French Franciscan, of great repute for learning, and known as *Doctor famosus*. He died in 1330, or, according to Luke Wadding, in 1334 (Ciaconius, ii. 415). [Eubel (i. 37) puts his death in 1332 or 1333.]

<sup>2</sup> A few other particulars as to Ben from sources unknown to Keith may here be added. On 26 Nov. 1329, the pope appropriated to James and his successors in the see of St. Andrews the parish church of Monimele, value forty marks. His predecessor, William, had built at Monimele a manor (C.P.R. ii. 303). A composition between Adam de Pontefract, prior of Coldingham, and James, bishop of St. Andrews, 16 Jan. 1330-1, is preserved (*Correspondence of the Priory of Coldingham*, Surtees Society, pp. 18, 19). On 16 June, 1332, John XXII. wrote to James, bishop of St. Andrews, thanking him for 4[000 ?] florins offered as a subsidy against the heretics, and sent by John de Leys, canon of Glasgow, and Adam de Dornach (C.P.R. ii. 504).

<sup>3</sup> I have not been able to make this exactly square with facts; but it comes pretty close to reality.

would seem that the farewell taken by Ben of the prior and canons must have been a resignation, or, at least, understood as such; for on 19 August, 1332, *WILLIAM BELL*, dean of Dunkeld,<sup>1</sup> was elected by the canons of St. Andrews, the Keledei being excluded, and now making no claim to a voice. He resorted to the papal court at Avignon; but 'through the opposition of many' he failed to obtain confirmation. At length, depressed by age and afflicted by blindness, he surrendered any right he had obtained by reason of his election. He eventually returned from the papal court in the train of Landells, after the consecration of the latter to the bishopric, entered the Priory of St. Andrews, and died 7 Feb. 1342-3 (Sc. *ib.*).

On the 25 April, 1336, the chapter of Cambuskenneth, after electing John of Kincardine abbot, appealed to the prior and chapter of St. Andrews *sede vacante* to confirm the election and give him letters dimissory to be consecrated by any Catholic bishop in the realm of Scotland (Cambusk. No. 98).

During the wars several efforts were made by the English crown to secure an English partisan for the see. Edward III. first suggested to the pope Master Robert de Ayleston (or Ingleston), archdeacon of Berkshire, but the pope declined him. Again on 24 July, 1333, Master Robert de Tanton was recommended to the pope (B.C. iii. No. 1080).

**WILLIAM DE LANDALLIS** (Landel, Landells, Laundels, Laundelys), rector of Kinkel in the diocese of Aberdeen.

18 Feb. 1341-2, Benedict XII. appoints William, rector of the church of Kinkel, in the diocese of Aberdeen. The pope's letter of this date recounts that on the vacancy of the see by the death of James, the prior and chapter elected William Bell, dean of Dunkeld, *concorditer, per formam compromissi*; that the elect had gone to the papal court to seek confirmation; but had eventually for various causes, *non tamen persone sue vitio*, spontaneously resigned all right arising out of the election into the hands of the pope. Before the resignation the pope declares that he had judged that in all such cases of resignation of an

<sup>1</sup> There is a mandate of John XXII. (11 Nov. 1329) addressed to 'William Bell, dean of Dunkeld,' and two others (C.P.R. ii. 301).

election the appointment should be reserved to himself. He accordingly appoints William, but he adds that he took into account the strong recommendations of William that had been sent to him by the prior and chapter (T. No. 550).<sup>1</sup>

Bower (Sc. vi. 45) gives the date of William's appointment as 18 Feb., thus exactly corresponding with the date of the papal letter. The letter is addressed to William as 'elect' (*i.e.* as chosen by the pope), which shows that he was not then consecrated. Sc. (*ib.*) gives the date of his consecration as 17 March. And this falls in well with the pope's mandate to William, dated 18 March, to betake himself to his diocese, having been consecrated by Peter, bishop of Palestrina (C.P.R. ii. 557).<sup>2</sup>

William, bishop of St. Andrews, was at Holyrood 18 March, 1342-3 (Melrose, 397); at 'Fetherneris' 11 Jan. 1347-8 (Cambusk. No. 67); at St. Andrews 4 June, 1350 (*ib.* No. 58, styled *Willelmus de Landale*); also on the Nativity of the B.V.M. (8 Sept.), 1350 (Newbattle, 232, styled *Willelmus de Laundels*); at Loch Leven 22 Aug. 1350 (Cambusk. No. 61); at Perth witnessing a royal confirmation 8 Sept. 1356 (Spalding Misc. v. 248); at St. Andrews 7 Feb. 1361-2 (Cambusk. No. 161); at Monimail 19th of same month (*ib.* No. 164); and at Abercorn 4 Oct. 1363 (*ib.* No. 43).

[In his time the cathedral was accidentally destroyed by fire. In 1381 Clement VII. granted the fruits of certain benefices towards its reconstruction and liberal indulgences to those who would contribute thereto (C.P.R. iv. 244).]

He died in the monastery of St. Andrew's, 1385, 23 Sept. (in *festo Sancte Tecle, virginis*), Sc. vi. 46;<sup>3</sup> and was buried in

<sup>1</sup> Bower (Sc. vi. 45) mentions that he had been strongly recommended to the pope by the kings of Scotland and France, as well as by the chapter of St. Andrews. Wyntoun (ii. 465) is so accurate, and lays such stress on the prayers of the chapter, that it would seem that he had seen the Bulls. He says that the king of France and David, king of Scotland, petitioned for Landells.

<sup>2</sup> Peter de Prato, a Frenchman, created cardinal bishop of Praeneste (Palestrina) by John XXII. He died in 1361. (Ciaconius, ii. 416.)

<sup>3</sup> Keith, in error, makes St. Thecla's day to be 15 Oct. But there can be no doubt what day is intended, for the Cupar MS. of Sc. reads

the floor of the great church before the door of the vestibule (that is, the vestry or sacristy), *ib.*<sup>1</sup>

**STEPHEN DE PA** (Pai, Pay, W. iii. 26), prior of St. Andrews, was elected by the chapter after the death of Landells, presumably in October, 1385. Carrying the decree of his election and letters commendatory from the king of Scots, he was taken prisoner at sea 'by pirates,' and carried captive to England. Shrinking from burdening the monastery with the cost of his ransom, more particularly because of the expenses involved through the burning of the church of St. Andrews seven years previously, he preferred to remain in England. He was soon after taken ill at Alnwick, and there died (Sc. vi. 46) on 2 March, 1385 (*i.e.* 1385-6). Sc. vi. 53.

**WALTER TRAIL** (Trayl, Treyle<sup>2</sup>). In 1378 he was official of Glasgow, M.A., and a licentiate in canon and civil law (C.P.R. Pet. i. 540). In 1380 he was a doctor of canon and civil law, papal chaplain and auditor (*ib.* 555). In 1381-2 he was treasurer of Glasgow (*ib.* 564). His petition for the deanery of Dunkeld was granted by Clement VII. (anti-pope) in November, 1380 (*ib.* 555).

He was provided by the pope, 29 Nov. 1385 (E.). Bower says his appointment was of the spontaneous provision of

'in festo S. Tecle sive Adamnoli.' In Scotland the feast of St. Adamnan rather overshadowed the commemoration of St. Thecla on 23 Sept. See the Kalendar of *Missale de Arbuthnott* (cxi.), and *Breviarium Aberdonense* (pars estiv. Propr. Sanct. fol. cxiiii. verso).

<sup>1</sup>Keith gives many other references to evidence from charters. There are many notes of papal writs to this bishop in C.P.R. vols. iii., iv. They chiefly relate to administration and discipline. In 1381 (3 June) he is described as feeble and broken with age, and is granted an indult by Clement VII. (anti-pope) to use *ovis et quibuslibet lacticiiniis* twice or thrice daily in Lent and other fasts. His confessor is also allowed to commute his life-long vow to fast on Wednesdays into other works of piety. (C.P.R. iv. 243.)

<sup>2</sup>For the name we have 'Walter Treyle, bishop of St. Andrews,' 6 July, 1395 (R.P.S.A. 2). [From *Auctar. Chart. Univ. Paris.* we learn that Trail graduated at Paris both as determinant and licentiate in 1365. In 1375 he was licentiate in laws and bachelor *in decretis* at Orleans (*ib.* i. p. xxxvii).]

Clement VII. (anti-pope), adding that Trail was *gratiōse bullis expeditus* (Sc. vi. 46). From the account of the custumars of St. Andrews for the period 16 March, 1384-5, to 31 March, 1386 (E.R. iii. 137-8), it appears that the see had become vacant during that period. This falls in well with the date assigned above to the death of Pay. We find Trail bishop of St. Andrews 15 Feb. 1385-6, when he was granted a faculty to hear and decide first appeals to Rome (C.P.R. iv. 252). This shows that Pay must have resigned his claim, or that his claim was disregarded by the pope.

We find Walter as conservator of the privileges and rights of the Scottish Church in an appeal from the action of the bishop of Moray on 18 July, 1388 (R.M. p. 350).

An inquisition about the 'scolarlandis' of Ellon made before Walter in 1387 (neither month nor day is recorded) leaves no doubt that Walter had been bishop for a year before the inquisition was made (R.A. i. 177-8). He is bishop 3 May, 1395 (Scone, 150).

Trail died in the castle of St. Andrews, which he had built from the foundation, 1401 (Sc. vi. 46; Pluscarden, x. 17; Wyntoun, iii. 79), and some time before 1 July, when the election (by the chapter) of his successor was held (Wyntoun, iii. 80). He was buried in the cathedral close to the great altar to the north *infra* (? *infra*) *pulpitum* (Sc. vi. 46).<sup>1</sup>

On the death of Trail, *THOMAS STEWART*, archdeacon of St. Andrews, an illegitimate son of Robert II., was elected on 1 July, 1401, 'be concord electioun' (W. iii. 80); but though the election was 'admitted' (*i.e.* probably by the king), when the decree of the election was about to be transmitted to the pope, he renounced his rights (Sc. vi. 47).<sup>2</sup> The Papal Petitions have some notices of Thomas Stewart. In 1380 the pope, Clement VII., provides Thomas Stewart, natural son of the king of Scotland, to the archdeaconry of St. Andrews and to the canonry and prebend of Stobo in Glasgow Cathedral

<sup>1</sup> [For English bishops appointed to St. Andrews by the Roman popes during the Schism, see Appendix.]

<sup>2</sup> W. (iii. 80) represents the subprior, William Nory, as having actually carried the decree of the election to Avignon.

(p. 551). In 1389 the king petitions for the deanery of Dunkeld for his son Thomas, and for a dispensation to hold it together with his archdeaconry. This petition was granted (p. 574). In 1393 Thomas petitions that he may hold a canonry of Brechin with his other preferments. Granted (p. 577). In 1395 Thomas Stewart, natural son of the late Robert, king of Scotland, bachelor of canon law at Paris, and archdeacon of St. Andrews, petitions that while he is at the university he may visit his archdeaconry by deputy, and receive money procurations for five years (p. 592). Wyntoun (iii. 80) also speaks of him as a bachelor of canon law.

After Stewart's renunciation of his election, *WALTER DE DANIELSTON* (Danyelston) was, according to Sc. (vi. 47), postulated (in 1402 according to W. iii. 83) to this see, and received the fruits of it until his death. According to Wyntoun (*ib.*), the election of Walter, which was 'in way off compromyssioun,' was at the instance of the duke of Albany; the election was 'agane conscience of mony men'; and

‘Sone efftyre at the Yule deit he.  
Swa litill mare than a halff yere  
Lestyt he in his powere.’

Any information about this obscure figure is of interest.

On 1 Feb. 1391-2, a petition was granted of Walter de Danyelston, canon of Aberdeen, licentiate in arts and student of civil law at Avignon, for a canonry at Glasgow with expectation of a prebend, notwithstanding that he has also papal provision of the church of Suitte (*sic*)<sup>1</sup> in the diocese of Glasgow, of which he had not yet got possession. Granted (C.P.R. Pet. i. 577).

In 1394 Danielston held the hospice for the poor at Poknade (? Polmadie), to which he had been presented by the earl of Lennox. The earl's right of presentation was disputed by Matthew, bishop of Glasgow (*ib.* 614). At a later date he was appointed a papal chaplain (*ib.* 608).

It would seem from Bower and Wyntoun that the appointment of Danielston to St. Andrews was by arrangement between

<sup>1</sup> [Perhaps Fintry, as the indexer suggests.]

him and the king and duke of Albany, the condition being that Danielston, who was, or claimed to be, (hereditary) castellan of the castle of Dumbarton, should surrender it to the king on receiving the bishopric. I am not aware of any evidence to show that Danielston was ever confirmed by the pope.

*GILBERT GREENLAW*, bishop of Aberdeen<sup>1</sup> and chancellor of Scotland, was postulated (? 1402 or 1403) to St. Andrews, and Nory was again sent to the papal court for confirmation of the postulation. But Benedict XIII. refused to confirm the postulation (Sc. vi. 47; W. iii. 84), and provided to the see—

**HENRY WARDLAW**, precentor of Glasgow, doctor of law, and nephew of the cardinal of Glasgow (Sc. vi. 47). Sc. (*l.c.*) says that three years and a half intervened between the death of Trail and the appointment of Wardlaw. Eubel (i. 88) gives the date of his appointment by Benedict XIII. as 10 Sept. 1403. But Wyntoun (iii. 85) seems to place the provision of Wardlaw in the same year as the battle of Homildon (14 Sept.), 1402. This falls in with a petition of John de Hawik, priest of the diocese of Glasgow, for confirmation in the precentorship of Glasgow, void by the promotion of Henry Wardlaw to the see of St. Andrews. He states that he has held the precentorship for *eight years*. This petition is dealt with by the pope on 28 Feb. 1409-10 (C.P.R. Pet. i. 596). To this has to be added a charter in the Register House (No. 298 of Cal.)—the charter Wester Fudy, dated 14 Sept. 1437, in the thirty-fifth year of Wardlaw's consecration, which shows that Wardlaw was consecrated some time in the year ending 13 Sept. 1403. But again, 5 April, 1425, is in the twenty-second year of his consecration (R.P.S.A. 409), which shows that his consecration was after 5 April, 1403. The 26 Oct. 1422 is in the twentieth year of Henry's consecration (Arbroath, ii. 55). But another charter (Cambusk. No. 19) is dated 20 May, 1409, and is said to be in the sixth year of his consecration. This would make his consecration after 20 May, 1403. So we conclude that his consecration was between 20 May, 1403, and 13 Sept. 1403.

<sup>1</sup> See under Aberdeen.

He issues a mandate 1 July, 1429 (Scone 172).

He had a dispute with the monastery of Arbroath about procurations; and [in 1420] Martin V. exempted the monastery from his jurisdiction for a short time (C.P.R. vii. 170; see also 195).

Henry Wardlaw died 'after Easter on 6 April, 1440, in the castle of St. Andrews' (Sc. vi. 47). Eubel gives 9 April, 1440, for Wardlaw's death. Easter in that year fell on 27 March.<sup>1</sup>

**JAMES KENNEDY**, bishop of Dunkeld, which see he had held for two years.<sup>2</sup>

He was postulated to St. Andrews, 22 April, 1440, *per viam Spiritus Sancti*, during his absence at the court of Pope Eugenius IV., then at Florence. Before the decree of the election, with the royal letters commendatory, reached the pope, Kennedy had been by him already provided to St. Andrews (Sc. vi. 48). Eubel (ii. 99) gives 28 May, 1440 (apparently), for Kennedy's appointment.

On 8 June, 1440, James, formerly bishop of Dunkeld, translated to the church of St. Andrews in Scotland, offered *pro suo communi servitio*, by reason of the said translation, 3,300 florins of gold *de Camera*, at which the said church of St. Andrews was found to be taxed, together with five *minuta servitia* (*Obligazioni*. B. 123).<sup>3</sup>

He took possession of the administration of the goods of the see before the letters of translation were fully drawn up; and for this petitions to be absolved; granted 27 Oct. 1443 (C.P.R. viii. 271).

<sup>1</sup> Many interesting notices of Wardlaw hitherto unknown will be found in C.P.R. Pet. i. pp. 548, 570, 573, 577, 584, 592, 600. [An excellent sketch of his career by Mr. Maitland Anderson will be found in S.H.R. viii. 230-32.]

<sup>2</sup> He was the son of Mary, second daughter of King Robert III., who had married first, George Douglas, earl of Angus, and, secondly, James Kennedy [of Dunure].

<sup>3</sup> Bower (Sc. vi. 48), who gives the day of his postulation as 22 April, adds 'in Quadragesima.' This is an error, for Easter fell in 1440 on 27 March. [As to the date of his consecration, see under Dunkeld.]

He is at a 'Concilium Generale' at Perth 8 Feb. 1442-3 (A.P. ii. 58). [The events of his public career are in K. and the historians; they are well summed up in *Scots Peerage*, ii. 449-50.]

On the fly-leaf of the manuscript R.P.S.A. (see printed edit. p. xx) we find this note: 'Anno Domini m<sup>o</sup>cccc<sup>o</sup> lix<sup>o</sup> Jacobus. K. Dei et apostolice sedis gratia episcopus Sancti Andree intravit mare apud Petynweme in festo Sancti Egidij abbatis. causa peregrinacionis ad Sanctum Johannem de Ameas.'

Kennedy is generally said to have died in 1466. And for that year we have the authority of John Major (*De Gest. Scot.* vi. c. 19) and Lesley (*De origine*, etc., p. 314, edit. Romae, 1578); who is followed by Spottiswoode (i. 114). In the vernacular (and probably original) form of Lesley's work (Bannatyne Club edit. p. 37) the date is 'x<sup>th</sup> daye of Maye, 1466.'<sup>1</sup> But Dr. Grub (*Eccl. Hist.* i. 375) pointed out that in the Chartulary of Arbroath (*Registrum Nigrum*, p. 145) we find David, prior of St. Andrews, acting as vicar-general of St. Andrews, *sede vacante* on 18 July, 1465. Again in the Chronicle of John Smyth, monk of Kinloss (Harl. MSS. 2363), we find 'Anno M. lxxv. [which must be merely a slip for Mcccclxv] obiit Iacobus Kennedy, episcopus Sancti Andree.'<sup>2</sup> And his successor was appointed 4 Nov. 1465. See next entry. We find Edward IV. of England paying his annuity to the bishop of St. Andrews for the year ending 14 April, 1465 (B.C. iv. No. 1360), and a very small payment for the year begun at Easter.

Kennedy witnessed a great seal charter at St. Andrews on 30 April, 1465 (R.M.S. ii. 831). I am disposed to place his death between that date and 18 July, 1465, and perhaps on 10 May, as stated by Lesley. Principal Donaldson informs me that the records of the University of St. Andrews have no notice of the death or funeral of Kennedy. He was buried in the beautiful tomb which he had erected for himself in the church of S. Salvator, which he had built.

<sup>1</sup> This date, I suspect, Lesley took from the continuation of Boece by Ferrerius (Boethius: Parisiis 1574 fol. 387 *verso*).

<sup>2</sup> Smyth's Chronicle is printed in Dr. J. Stuart's *Records of the Monastery of Kinloss* (Appendix to the Preface).

**PATRICK GRAHAM**, bishop of Brechin.<sup>1</sup>

Appointed by a Bull of Paul II., dated Rome, 4 Nov. 1465 (B. i. 123). On 29 Nov. 1465, the proctor of Patrick, lately translated from the church of Brechin to the church of St. Andrews, offered 3,300 gold florins. His proctor was Gaspar de Ricasolis, merchant of Florence, 'institor Banchi de Medicis' (*Obligaz.* *ib.* 124). On 2 July, 1471, Patrick is *in remotis* (Scone, 194); and also 24 June, 1472 (*ib.* 196). On 5 Dec. 1476, Sixtus IV. commissioned John Huseman, dean of the church of St. Patroclus in Soest (Suzaciencis) in the diocese of Cologne, to inquire into charges made against Graham (T. No. 862). Graham was deposed and condemned to perpetual confinement in a monastery 'or other place.' The date of the deposition is 9 Jan. 1477-8 (T. No. 863). After confinement first at Inchcolm, then at Dunfermline, and lastly at the castle of Lochleven, he died in 1478 (month and day not known), and was buried in St. Serf's Inch in Lochleven (Lesley, *De origine, etc.*, 319). Buchanan (*Hist.* xii. 33-35) is fuller on the story of Graham than other historians. [His life is in Herkless and Hannay, *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, i. 1-79.]

It was during the episcopate of Graham that St. Andrews was erected into an archiepiscopal and metropolitan see by a Bull of Sixtus IV., dated Rome, 17 Aug. 1472 (T. No. 852).

**WILLIAM SCHEVES** (Schevez, Shevez, Sheves, Schewess), archdeacon of St. Andrews.<sup>2</sup>

Appointed *coadjutor cum jure successionis* 13 Sept. 1476, and archbishop 11 Feb. 1477-8 (E. ii. 99). Under the year 1478 Lesley (*De origine*, p. 319) says that Scheves received the pall in the church of Holyrood Abbey, in presence of the king and of

<sup>1</sup> He was a great grandson of King Robert III., whose daughter, Lady Mary Stewart, married Sir William Graham after the death of James Kennedy, and had by her Robert Graham of Fintry, father of the bishop. Graham was thus nephew of his predecessor in the see (Herkless and Hannay, *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, i. 12). He was appointed to Brechin before 29 March, 1463 (T. No. 828).

<sup>2</sup> [His *obligavit* for the archdeaconry is dated 12 July, 1474 (Roman Transcripts in Public Record Office). He was also dean of Dunkeld at the time of his promotion.]

many of the nobility. On 31 Jan. 1476-7, he was archdeacon, coadjutor and vicar-general (Rymer's *Fœdera*, xii. 40). He was coadjutor 30 June, 1477 (R.B. i. 200), and 31 Oct. 1477, (*Spalding Misc.* ii. 253). He had formerly been 'clericus regis' and master of the hospital at Brechin (R.M.S. ii. No. 1358). In the vernacular *History of Scotland from 1436 to 1561*, by John Lesley, bishop of Ross (Bannatyne Club), the day on which the pall is said to have been given is Passion Sunday 'in lentrene' (p. 43). Ferrerius (Appendix to Boece, fol. 393 *verso*) gives the same day, but makes the year 1479. 2 June, 1479, was in 'anno consecrationis nostræ primo.' (Deed printed by University Commiss., St. Andrews, 1837, p. 179.) Passion Sunday in 1477-8 was 8 March.<sup>1</sup> Scheves witnessed a royal charter as archbishop 2 Feb. 1478-9 (R.M.S. ii. 1417).

[A Bull ordaining all bishops and ordinaries in Scotland to obey William elect of St. Andrews as their metropolitan, notwithstanding exemptions, was delivered 2 May, 1478 (Roman Transcripts, Public Record Office).]

A grant of regality in the amplest terms for the lands of the archbishopric, which had been made to Bishop Kennedy 14 June, 1452, was confirmed to Archbishop Scheves 7 Oct. 1479 (A.P. ii. 193-6). On 2 Aug. 1482, he (with others) engages to obtain a pardon for the duke of Albany (*Fœdera*, xii. 160). [As to Scheves' forced resignation of the archbishopric in 1482, see under Moray.] [Arms—Quarterly: 1 and 4. Three wild cats passant in pale.<sup>2</sup> 2 and 3. A cross voided at the intersection, and charged with a star.]

[On 4 July, 1483, James Lindsay was appointed bishop of Dionysias *in partibus infidelium*, with faculty to act as suffragan of St. Andrews (E. ii. 160).]

In Aug. 1485, several episcopal acts were performed in the

<sup>1</sup> [In 1479 it was 28 March, and this suits the charter evidence better. 22 Oct. 1490 is in the twelfth year of Scheves' consecration (R.M.S. ii. 2210). The uncertainty of the evidence of Great Seal Testing Clauses and Council Sederunts is remarked elsewhere.]

<sup>2</sup> [Scheves' sign manual as a notary public, appended to an Instrument dated 24 Jan. 1473-4, in the hands of Sir William Fraser's Trustees, consists of a crown, crossed keys, and wild cat below, with the name V. Scheuez.]

diocese of St. Andrews by 'Georgius de Brana episcopus Dromorensis,' who describes himself as 'quondam dominus Athenarum' (*Arbroath*, ii. 226-7). [This bishop was translated from Dromore to Elphin in 1499 (B.); he owned property in Edinburgh, which after his death passed to the Crown as *ultimus haeres* (R.M.S. iii. 872, 1300. At iii. 872 he is styled 'Delphanensis alias Grecie episcopus.') There is a short notice of him in *Néos Ελληνομυνήμων*, vii. 347.]

[Scheves obtained a Bull from Innocent VIII. (27 March, 1487), making his successors primates of Scotland and *legati nati*, with exemptions and prerogatives as observed in the church of Canterbury (S.E.S. i. p. cxix). The events which subsequently led to the creation of the archbishopric and province of Glasgow are detailed under Glasgow.]

Scheves is said to have died 28 Jan. 1496-7.<sup>1</sup> The see was vacant 22 March, 1496-7 (*Arbroath*, ii. 303).<sup>2</sup>

*JAMES STEWART*, second son of James III.; born in March, 1475-6; marquis of Ormonde, 1476; Duke of Ross, 1488.<sup>3</sup>

On 20 Sept. 1497, the pope made 'the most illustrious James Stewart, clerk of the diocese of St. Andrews, brother of the most illustrious king of Scotland, being in his eighteenth year,'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So Keith; but I have been unable to find a verification from an original authority. The year at least may be accepted.

<sup>2</sup> The archbishop had a brother, Henry Scheves of Gilquhus (*sic*), to whose son and heir, John, the archbishop granted the fee-farm of certain lands in the regality of St. Andrews (R.M.S. ii. 2210).

<sup>3</sup> See Sir A. H. Dunbar's *Scottish Kings*, p. 210.

<sup>4</sup> There is probably an error of transcription here, for, assuming the date of his birth as given above to be correct, the archbishop would be in his twenty-second year at the date of his appointment. As Brady transcribes the passage it runs 'constitutum in xviii anno.' Those who are familiar with questions of this kind will know how easy it is to read 'V' for 'X'; but even this emendation would give a year too much to the age of James Stewart. [The MS. note of his provision quoted by E. (ii. 99) makes him in his nineteenth year. Herkless and Hannay (i. 169) reject the date 1475-6 for his birth. A full account of him is given by them. The earliest recorded reference to him is 23 Jan. 1480-1 (R.M.S. ii. 1457).]

administrator of the diocese up to the lawful age, and after that provided him to the church of St. Andrews by advancing him to be bishop and pastor' (*Vatican.* B. i. 124). The *Obligazioni* record that on 14 Oct. 1497, James Brown, dean of Aberdeen, offered in the name of the Reverend Father, Lord James, elect of St. Andrews, on account of the provision by the Bull of Alexander VI. under date of 20 Sept. 1497, 3,300 gold florins. (B. *ib.*). The legitimate age according to the canon law for the consecration of a bishop was the age of thirty years complete (*Decretalia Gregorii IX.*, lib. I. tit. vi. cap. 7). In the passage cited by B. (above) there is no indication of the pope's intending to dispense with the law on this subject. I am not aware that there is any evidence to show that James Stewart was ever consecrated. He was administrator, and in a charter dated St. Andrews, 7 Feb. 1502-3, the deed is said to be in the fifth year of his 'administration' (K.).

As to the date of Stewart's death we can fix it tolerably closely from an entry in the *Treasurer's Accounts* (ii. 415). On 13 Jan. 1503-4, a payment of £26 13s. was made 'for the expens maid on the tursing of the Beschop of Sanctandrois to Sanctandrois to be beryit, in wax, in fraucht, and all othir expens.' He seems to have been interred on 28 or 29 Jan. 1503-4, the king attending in a dule-gown and hood of black (Tr. A. ii. 223, 417). He was present in the sederunt of the Lords of Council on 22 Dec. 1503. So that he had not been long seriously ill. Indeed he witnessed a great seal charter on 4 Jan. 1503-4 (R.M.S. ii. 2765).

It may be proper here to notice what seems a discrepancy between the date of his appointment by the pope (as given above) and an entry in R.M.S. (ii. 2358), where James, archbishop of St. Andrews, brother of the king, is a consenting party to, and witnesses, a charter on 22 May, 1497. This can only be explained by supposing that the pope's concurrence was regarded as absolutely assured.

Besides the archbishopric he was granted *in commendam* [the abbey of Holyrood (27 Dec. 1497), for which on 10 Feb. he offered 171 florins (*Obligazioni.* B. 182). On 3 June, 1500, he apparently resigned Holyrood, which was granted to another and obtained *in commendam*] the abbey of Dunfermline (3 June,

1500), void by the translation of George, abbot; and on 21 Aug. 1500 the sum of 250 gold florins was offered in his name (*Obligazioni*. B. 178). Again he was provided to Arbroath 7 July, 1503 (B. 164).

The see was vacant for some time, perhaps kept intentionally vacant for the appointment of

*ALEXANDER STEWART*, illegitimate son of James IV. by Marion (by some called Margaret, by others, Mary) Boyd, daughter of Archibald Boyd of Bonshaw.

His birth was probably about 1493.<sup>1</sup>

The child was 'archdene' of St. Andrews in Jan. 1502-3 (Tr. A. ii. 355).<sup>2</sup>

The Tr. A. (ii. 243) show that on 22 Feb. 1503-4 1110 angels of gold were 'deliverit to the dene of Murray and Schir Thomas Hakirstoun to the finance of the bullis of Sanctandrois,' and 'tua chenzeis weyand lxvi½ unce'; and give other particulars of payments for their expenses through England.

Alexander was appointed to the archbishopric 10 May, 1504 (E.). '24 Maii 1504 Alexander electus Sancti Andree ratione administrationis de persona sua usque ad annum etatis 27 et deinde provisionis facte 6 Id. Maii anno 1 Julii ii obtulit florenos 3300' (*Obligazioni*).

John (Hepburn) is prior of St. Andrews and vicar-general *sede vacante* 20 July, 1504, but the month is in error, for the deed is confirmed 31 May, 1504 (R.M.S. ii. 2789).

In Sept. 1504 'Robert Bertoun and Andro Matheson passit for the said bullis and tha restit awand to Jerome Friscobald iij<sup>m</sup> ix<sup>e</sup> ducatis' (Tr. A. l.c.; and further particulars pp. 458, 478).

<sup>1</sup> [On 24 Oct. 1497 he was dispensed to hold benefices notwithstanding his illegitimacy, being then in his sixth year (*Reg. Lat.* 1012. 41). And in his appointment to the commendatorship of Dunfermline, 29 Jan. 1508-9 (*Reg. Vat.* 939. 261) he is said to be in his eighteenth year. If these statements are correct, he must have been born towards the end of 1491. But evidence of this sort is uncertain.]

<sup>2</sup> [He was already so 20 Sept. 1502 (Herkless and Hannay, i. 222).]

There is a precept, 24 Feb. 1506-7, in the third year of Alexander's administration (original in the Register House, Cal. No. 700).

James IV. wrote to Julius II. (the date is not given) thanking him for acceding to his request in appointing Alexander to the archbishopric, and requesting that the pope would appoint a certain Dominican (named obviously in the letter sent, but blank in the draft) to serve as bishop, who would have his title from one of the ancient vacant sees (meaning, no doubt, some see in Africa or the East, *in partibus infidelium*) who would superintend the tender archbishop. The king would provide him with a suitable income (*Epistolae Regum Scotorum*, i. No. 2). This draft letter is given, in the volume cited, a place after a letter dated 1 Oct. 1505. [Probably it belongs to 1504.]

Alexander Stewart was slain at the battle of Flodden, 9 Sept. 1513.

**JOHN HEPBURN**, prior of St. Andrews, was nominated by the regents and *elected* by the chapter.<sup>1</sup> Another aspirant to the see was Gavin Douglas, provost of the collegiate church of St. Giles', Edinburgh, who shortly afterwards was provided by the pope to Dunkeld. After Forman's provision Hepburn in May, 1515, carried his appeal to Rome. Lesley (Bannatyne Club edit.), p. 101. He probably desisted in his appeal; at any rate he was given by the Governor of Scotland 'ane thousand merkis pensione . . . for his contentacoun' (*ib.* 106).

**ANDREW FORMAN** (Foreman),<sup>2</sup> bishop of Moray, to which he had been provided by Alexander VI., 26 Nov. 1501

<sup>1</sup> The regent had intended Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen, for the primacy. On 5 Aug. 1514 a letter was addressed in the name of the king to Leo X., begging that the bishop of Aberdeen, 'nutricius noster,' should be translated to St. Andrews (*Epis. Reg. Scot.* i. 199). But Elphinstone died 25 Oct. 1514 (R.A. ii. 249; R.G. ii. 616). [Pope Leo X. on 13 Oct. 1513 provided his nephew, Cardinal Innocenzo Cibo, to the archbishopric (E.); but the appointment found no favour in Scotland, and was dropped the next year (Herkless and Hannay, ii. 83, 92).]

<sup>2</sup> In Mr. John Spottiswoode's Introduction to *Liber s. Marie de Dryburgh*, pp. xx, we are told that Forman was 'of the family of Foreman of Hutton in Berwickshire.' Mr. Spottiswoode confounds

(*Vatican.* B. 135). He was also commendator of Dryburgh, Pittenweem, and Cottingham in England (R.M. 401), and archbishop of Bourges in France.<sup>1</sup>

He was translated to St. Andrews [on 13 Nov. 1514, Cardinal Innocenzo resigning without having obtained possession (E.) ; and was given the abbey of Dunfermline *in commendam* the same day (Herkless and Hannay, ii. 102-3)]. On 11 Dec. he was granted the powers of a *legatus a latere* (*Regesta Leo. X. edit.* Hergenröther, i. 794). The date given by Lesley (Bannatyne Club, p. 101) for the publishing of 'the bills (? bulls) of provisione' at Edinburgh is 15 Jan. 1514-5. [A contemporary letter says 16 and 17 Jan. (H. and H. ii. 113).] Whether the news of the publication of the Bulls had reached Henry VIII. of England or not, we find that on 28 Jan. 1514-5 he wrote to the pope begging him to appoint Gavin Douglas, who had been commended to the pope by his sister Margaret, queen of Scotland. He says that he understands that the bishop of Moray will never go to St. Andrews (T. No. 901). But Forman's position was now secure [though he did not obtain admission to the temporalities till Feb. 1515-6 (H. and H. ii. 144). Meanwhile] John, prior of St. Andrews, is vicar-general *sede vacante* 10 Oct. 1515 (*Collegiate Churches of Midlothian*, 290), and 8 Jan. 1515-6 (R.G. ii. 525).

Forman died, probably, on 12 March, 1520-1. John Smyth, monk of Kinloss, in his Chronicle (printed in the Appendix to the Preface of Dr. Stuart's *Records of the Monastery of Kinloss*), states that Forman died in Lent, 1522. But in a manuscript of John Law, canon of St. Andrews, which is preserved in the

Cottingham with Coldingham. Forman 'appears to have retained Dryburgh till 1515.'

<sup>1</sup> Mas Latrie (*Trésor de Chron.* col. 1399) gives 1512 as the date of Forman's appointment to Bourges, and 1513 for his translation to St. Andrews. But each of these dates seems to be a year too early. [The true date for Bourges is 15 July, 1513 (H. and H. ii. 73). He did homage to Louis XII. as archbishop, 12 Sept. 1513 (*Gallia Christiana*, ii. 94).] Forman appears as archbishop of St. Andrews 5 Feb. 1515-6 (Paisley, 358), and 3 April, 1516 (*Spalding Misc.* iv. 18-19).

library of the University of Edinburgh, we find a note (which has been communicated to me by Rev. John Anderson) that Forman died at Dunfermline on 12 March, 1521: and that this means 12 March, 1520-1, is apparent from what follows, unless we suppose that Forman resigned the see before his death, of which we have no hint.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Anderson in a note to his *Laing Charters* (No. 327) points out that the see was certainly vacant on 10 April, 1521. It was vacant also on 18 May, 1521 (*ib.* No. 329), and 18 Nov. 1521 (Cambusk. No. 169).

The continued vacancy of the see is borne witness to by *Laing Charters* (No. 333), which show that it was vacant on 28 March, 1522. There is a letter of James V. dated at Edinburgh 21 Feb. 1521 (*i.e.* 1521-2), which refers to the vicar-general of St. Andrews, 'dictâ Metropoli Pastore destitutâ' (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 329).<sup>2</sup>

**JAMES BEATON** (Betoun), archbishop of Glasgow. (Postulated to Glasgow by the chapter, 9 Nov. 1508 (*Dioces. Registers of Glasgow*, ii. 232.)

For his consecration, see under Glasgow.

Adrian VI. translated James Beaton to St. Andrews on 10 Oct. 1522. The revenue of the see is given as 10,000 florins; and the taxa as 3,300 florins. The pall was granted on 10 Dec. 1522 (*Barberini. B.* 125).

Henry VIII. had exerted himself to have Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, appointed to the primacy. But the regent of Scotland with the three estates of the realm wrote (6 Feb. 1521-2) to the pope informing him that Gavin had fled to their enemy the king of England, and beseeching him not to advance Gavin (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 327).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [The archbishop's death was known in London (apparently) by 1 April, 1521 (*Venetian Cal.* iii. No. 184).]

<sup>2</sup> In *Acta Dominorum Concilii* (xxxii. fol. 76), there is recorded (22 Feb. 1518-9) a marriage contract between Archbishop Forman 'and Jhane Forman his dochter naturale' on the one part, and Sir John Oliphant of Kellie, knight, and Alexander Oliphant 'his oye and apperent air' on the other.

<sup>3</sup> This ought to suffice to show that Gavin Douglas did not die in 1521. [See under Dunkeld.]

The following note from the *Aberdeen Burgh Sasines* (vol. iv.) [illustrates his career as a statesman and is of ecclesiastical interest] : 'Nota the xxix day of August anno xv<sup>o</sup> xxiiij<sup>o</sup> zeiris King James the fifth in the xi<sup>o</sup> zeir of his rig and xii<sup>o</sup> zeir of his age begoutht his first parliament at Edinburgh the said day Master James Bettoune arsbisshop of Sanctandrouis & commendatoure of Arbroth Dunferling & gret chanslour of Scotland and Master Gawine Dunbar bischop of Abirdene were put in ward in the castell of Edinburgh quharthrouch all the diocy of Sanct Androis was interdictit and na mes said in the samyne x<sup>o</sup> dayis continewll togidder quhill the bischop of Galloway and abbot of Pasley begoutht and said messis for the kingis plesour the saidis lordis remanan in ward.'

We find David Beaton (successor of James) 'coadjutor of St. Andrews,' 5 Feb. 1538-9 (R.M.S. iii. 2741), just before the death of his uncle.

James Beaton died 'die Veneris, 14 Feb. 1539' (*Liber G. Makeson*, in the Laing collection of MSS. in the University of Edinburgh). The day of the week works out right for the year 1538-9.

[Arms—Quarterly : 1 and 4. A fess between three mascles. 2 and 3. On a chevron an otter head erased.]

**DAVID BEATON** (Betoun), nephew of the preceding.

At the instance of Francis I., king of France, he was provided by the pope to the see of Mirepoix on 5 Dec. 1537 (*Firenze. B. 125*).<sup>1</sup>

The date of his appointment in succession to his uncle is not given by B. [He was appointed coadjutor and successor 1537 in *Camera Apostolica* (E.).] We find him styled archbishop of St. Andrews on 25 Feb. 1538-9 (R.M.S. iii. 1916). The creation of Beaton as cardinal is given by B. (125) as 20 Dec. 1530, which is certainly an error for 1538.<sup>2</sup> His title was

<sup>1</sup>[On 13 Jan. 1537-8 he was dispensed from being consecrated and seeking the pallium within the canonical time (*Min. Brev. Paul III. lib. 9, No. 30*); the writ states that Beaton's appointment as coadjutor of St. Andrews preceded his provision to Mirepoix.]

<sup>2</sup>See Raynald (*Annal. Eccles.* vol. xiii. 495), who gives 20 Dec. 1538.

presbyter cardinal of St. Stephen on the Caelian. A letter of thanks from James V. to Pope Paul III. is dated 8 March, 1538-9 (T. No. 1050).

Possibly French records may have preserved the date of Beaton's consecration to Mirepoix. From Scottish records we can infer it only approximately from a comparison of writs dated with his 'anno consecrationis.' Out of seventeen of these supplied to me by Dr. Maitland Thomson I select two which perhaps bring us as near the date as we are likely to come. 25 July, 1545, was in the seventh year of his consecration (R.M.S. v. 1104), and 12 Aug. 1544 was in the seventh year of his consecration (*Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff*, iii. 251). If these writs may be trusted, the date of Beaton's consecration would be in 1538, between 26 July and 13 Aug.<sup>1</sup>

It may be suspected [justly, see above] that the Bulls appointing David Beaton as coadjutor (see last entry) granted *ius successionis*. This supposition falls in with what Lesley says when writing of James Beaton's death: 'befoir his deid [he] had providit successouris to all his benefices, quhilkis were Mr. David Betoun, then being cardinal, to the archbishoprik of St. Androis and the Abbacye of Arbroith' etc. (Bannatyne edit. p. 158).

He was assassinated in his castle of St. Andrews on Saturday, 29 May, 1546.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>[On 10 Aug. 1539 the pope by Brieve permitted him to levy *hac vice* a subsidy (*caritativum subsidium*) from the clergy of his diocese. The details of the collection of this subsidy are in the Accounts of his Chamberlain, now being edited by Mr. R. K. Hannay for the Scottish History Society.]

<sup>2</sup>On 16 July, 1540, William Gibson [dean of Restalrig and senator of the College of Justice, in accordance with James V.'s recommendation in a letter dated 4 May, 1540 (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* ii. 63)] was provided by the pope 'ecclesiae Libarien. in partibus infidelium,' with a faculty for exercising the episcopal office in the city and diocese of St. Andrews, with the consent of the cardinal, and with a pension of £200 Scots, to be furnished by the cardinal (*Barberini. B.* 126). [Arms: Quarterly, 1. Two keys on saltire, wards upward and outward. 2. Gyronny of eight. 3. A saltire. 4. Illegible.] Beaton

**JOHN HAMILTON**, a natural son of James, first earl of Arran, bishop of Dunkeld.

The date of his translation to St. Andrews is (as given by B.) 28 Nov. 1547. He is at the same time granted a dispensation to retain the monastery of Paisley, and also a dispensation for the defect of birth 'quem de soluto nobili et illustri genere procreato genitus et soluta, aut alias, patitur.' Fructus, 3000 marks; taxa, 600 florins. (*Barberini*. B. 127.)

But this provision does not seem to have been effective immediately. For as late as 1549, we find the see vacant on 15 April and 2 June (R.S.S. xxiii. 4 and 16). The see of Dunkeld is described as void 23 June, 1549 (*ib.* 33), and 'John, archbishop of St. Andrews,' [appears as such 4 July (see Dunkeld),] and sits in council on 13 July, 1549 (*Privy Council Register*, xiv. 9.)<sup>1</sup> And the letter convoking the Provincial Council of 1559 is dated 31 Jan. 1558-9, in the tenth year of his translation (*Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, ii. 143).

John Hamilton had been consecrated while holding Dunkeld, to which he had been provided, with a dispensation for defect of birth, 17 Dec. 1544 (B. 130-2). [As to the date of his consecration, see under Dunkeld.]

He was hanged at Stirling, 7 April, 1571.

It is strange that an event of such importance as the death of Archbishop Hamilton should be assigned to no less than three

was appointed [keeper of the Privy Seal 3 Jan. 1528-9 (R.S.S. i. 4019), and] chancellor 10 Jan. 1542-3 (R.S.S. xvii. 1), [but did not receive the great seal till 13 Dec. following (A.P. ii. 442)].

<sup>1</sup> On 4 Sept. 1551 Gavin Hamilton, clerk of the diocese of Glasgow, of noble family, procreated and born in lawful matrimony, now in his thirtieth year or thereby, is appointed by the pope as coadjutor to John. The archbishop was to provide him with a pension of £400 Scots. It was also declared that on the death or resignation of John Hamilton, Gavin was to succeed him with a dispensation to retain the monastery of Kilwinning. The grounds for the supply of a coadjutor are 'ob malam phthisis valetudinem' (*Barberini*. B. 127-8). See also the Bull of Pope Julius (III.) addressed (4 Sept. 1551) to the clergy of the city and diocese of St. Andrews commanding obedience to Gavin Hamilton, clerk of the diocese of Glasgow, appointed coadjutor and 'future elect' (*Laing Charters*, No. 584).

different dates by early historians. Spottiswoode (ii. p. 155) says that he was hanged on 1 April; and the marginal year-date at the top of the page, for which probably Spottiswoode was not responsible, has misled Keith, and even the ordinarily most accurate Joseph Robertson (*Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, i. p. clxxxii, marginal note) to adopt 1 April, 1570. The year was certainly 1571. But about the day of the month there is more reason to hesitate. 1 April may be dismissed as untenable. Dumbarton Castle was taken on 2 April, and Hamilton was removed thence to Stirling. But we find Calderwood (iii. pp. 58, 59) giving 6 April. The *Diurnal of Occurrents* gives very precisely 6 p.m. on Saturday, 7 April, 1571; and it may be remarked that 7 April did fall on Saturday in 1571. The Chronicle of Aberdeen gives also 7 April as the date. So do Balfour's *Annals* (Works, i. 354). Sir A. H. Dunbar, who refers to these authorities, and for accuracy in chronology stands unrivalled, gives his judgment in favour of 7 April (*Scottish Kings*, p. 265).

J. Hill Burton (*Hist. of Scotland*, v. 36) gives 7 April, 1571, 'at two o'clock in the afternoon.' Where does the 'two o'clock' come from? Hume Brown (*Hist. of Scot.* ii. 147) says 7 April (at 6 p.m.), 1571; Grub (*Eccl. Hist.* ii. 168) 6 April, 1571.

Arms: Quarterly, 1st and 4th. A lymphad. 2nd and 3rd. Three cinquefoils. Sometimes the charges are reversed. Motto, *Misericordia et Pax*. (Macdonald, *Armorial Seals*, 1232-36.) Riddell in his annotated (MS.) Keith (Advocates' Library) remarks as to the arms, 'No mark of bastardy.'

*GAVIN HAMILTON*,<sup>1</sup> appointed coadjutor of the last (see above). In the list of the names of those who attended the Parliament in Edinburgh, 13 June, 1571, appears 'Gawan Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews, who now is slain [he fell in a skirmish a few days later], before abbot of Kilwinning, allowed by the pope seventeen (*sic*) years by past to succeed the bishop that last was' (*Calendar of Scottish Papers*, iii. 604).

<sup>1</sup>[Abbot of Kilwinning, son of James Hamilton of Raploch. His natural son, Gavin, was ancestor of the later Hamiltons of Raploch, who ended in an heiress about the end of the seventeenth century.]

Dr. Maitland Thomson has been so good as to search the MS. Register of the Privy Seal for any notices of the admission of the archbishops of St. Andrews to the temporality of the see; and he has found none. It seems curious that, while records of the admission to the temporality of other bishoprics appear in that Register from time to time, there is none of admission to the primatial see of St. Andrews.

Gavin Hamilton is not noticed in Keith.

Through the kindness of Dr. Kennedy, Librarian of New College, Edinburgh, the writer has been allowed to make use of a copy of Keith elaborately annotated in manuscript by Mr. William Rowand, a former Librarian of that College, and to Mr. Rowand's labours two or three of the references are due. But Mr. Rowand's studies in this subject closed in 1854, and he was thus confined to Scottish sources for his information.

## Appendix

During the great schism, while Scotland up to 1417 adhered to the anti-popes, the popes continued to make appointments to Scottish sees, which appointments in Scotland were wholly unrecognised and ineffective. The following may be recorded:

**ALEXANDER DE NEVILLE**, archbishop of York (deposed 1388), was translated by Urban VI. to the bishopric of St. Andrews in Scotland (Walsingham, Rolls Series, ii. 179). The date of the Bull is given as 30 April, 1388. He is the 'Alexander bishop of St. Andrews' of subsequent letters of Urban VI. and Boniface IX. (C.P.R. iv. 271, 326, 343). He died in poverty at Louvain in May, 1392.

**THOMAS DE ARUNDEL** (successor of Neville at York, translated to Canterbury in 1396), while in banishment after his attainder, was translated to St. Andrews by Boniface IX., 21 Jan. 1398. He was restored to Canterbury in Oct. 1399 (see Hardy's *Le Neve's Fasti*).

**JOHN TREVOR**, who had been provided bishop of St. Asaph (21 Oct. 1394—C.P.R. iv. 481), was translated to St. Andrews

in 1408 (see Eubel's *Hierarchia Catholica*, i. 88, note 5). Trevor died 10 April, 1410 (Stubbs's *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, 2nd edit. 82).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The news of his death cannot have reached the pope, who grants to John, bishop of Asaph, to hold *in commendam* 1, 2, 3, 4, or more benefices in the Province of Reims not exceeding 600 gold florins 7 Kal. June, 1410 (C.P.R. vi. 207). But on 17 Kal. Aug. 1410 his successor Robert, abbot of Vale Crucis in St. Asaph, is provided to the see of St. Asaph (*ib.* 199).

## The Bishops of Dunkeld

IN dealing with the diocese of Dunkeld one naturally turns to Myln's *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum*. But, unhappily, while of real value when treating of the bishops near his own time, this work is worse than useless for determining the succession of the early bishops of the see. It is careless, confusing, and positive in tone when it ought to have been hesitating and conjectural. It is often demonstrably wrong.

For the early Columban foundation at Dunkeld and the bishop of the Picts there resident, see Skene's *Celtic Scotland* (ii. 370).

The see seems to have been revived by Alexander I., but evidence is lacking to determine the exact year.

**CORMAC.** We find 'Cormac bishop' (see unnamed) witnessing the foundation charter of Scone, which monastery was founded in 1114<sup>1</sup> (Fordun, i. 227, Skene's edit.) or 1115 (M.). This is probably Cormac, bishop of Dunkeld; at least we know no other bishop named Cormac at this period. Again, Cormac (see still unnamed) witnesses another charter of the same monastery together with 'Robert elect of St. Andrews' (Scone, No. 4).<sup>2</sup> The charter is granted by King Alexander. But

<sup>1</sup>[Fordun gives no date. One of the old chroniclers (*Chron. Picts and Scots*, 387) places the foundation of Scone in the seventh year of Alexander I., *i.e.* before 8 Jan. 1113-4. Bower (v. 36) connects the foundation with a rebellion in Moray which Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, i. 453) places in 1116.]

<sup>2</sup>Note that we find early bishops, *e.g.* 'John bishop' (who is beyond question bishop of Glasgow), appearing among witnesses with

Robert appears to have been elected in 1124 (M.), while the king died towards the end of April, 1124.<sup>1</sup> We find 'Cormac bishop of Dunkeld' between (probably) 1127-1129 (Dunfermline, 4, 16). But we have a dated charter in the *Book of Deer* (93), which records a grant by Gartnait, son of Cainnech, and Ete, daughter of Gille Michel, to Cormac, bishop of Dunkeld (*éscob dunicallen*), in the eighth year of David's reign (that is, the year ending 22 April, 1132).

The date of Cormac's death is unknown.

The absence of the name of his see in the Scone charters leads me to suspect that Cormac may have been, at the date of these charters, a bishop without a see, in one of the monasteries of Celtic foundation.

**GREGORY.** He was bishop 'de duncallden' in the reign of David, a charter of whom he attests together with Andrew, bishop of Caithness (*Book of Deer*, 95); also a charter of Earl Henry (who died 12 June, 1152), where he is bishop of 'Duncaldin,' and before 1147, when John, bishop of Glasgow, another witness, died (Kelso, 196). He also attests a charter of David along with Herbert, 'elect of Glasgow,' and Robert, bishop of St. Andrews (Cambusk. No. 51); and another, which must be dated between 1147, when Herbert, bishop of Glasgow (witness), was consecrated, and 1153, when King David died (Dunfermline, 8).

'G. Dunlcheldensi' appears among the bishops of Scotland addressed in the Bull of Adrian IV., 27 Feb. 1155.<sup>2</sup>

Gregory, bishop of Dunkeld, is a witness in a charter (dated 1159) by Malcolm IV., a confirmation of possessions to Kelso (*Diplomata Scotiae*, No. 24).

see unnamed (Kelso, 297, in the time of King David I. and Earl Henry). In the charter No. 4 of Scone, while Cormac's see is unnamed, Gregory is now bishop of Moray. Hence, possibly, we may be right in supposing that Moray was founded before Dunkeld was reconstituted.

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion on the exact day of Alexander's death, see Dunbar's *Scottish Kings*, 54-56.

<sup>2</sup> The best text of the Bull is printed in Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils*, vol. ii. part i. 231.

He witnesses in 1160 or 1161 with William, bishop of Moray, legate of the Apostolic See (William became legate in 1160 and died in Jan. 1161-2), (R.P.S.A. 128).

There is a Bull of Pope Alexander III. to Gregory, bishop of Dunkeld, 'vij Id. Junii anno Alexander III quarto,' *i.e.* 7. June, 1163, confirming, at Gregory's request, liberties and possessions (Fraser's *Wemyss*, ii. 1-3).

Gregory, bishop of Dunkeld, is a witness together with Richard 'elect of St. Andrews' (who was elected in 1163) to a charter of Malcolm IV., in the eleventh year of his reign, *i.e.* in the year ending 23 May, 1164 (Scone, 7).

The date of Gregory's death is given by Sc. (vii. 60) as 1164; but elsewhere (viii. 13) as 1169. This discrepancy may arise from the ease with which MCLXIV. and MCLXIX. might in transcription be confused. With 1169 Myln (5) agrees.<sup>1</sup> [Also *Chron. Anglo-Scot.*, s.a.].

From what has been said about his predecessor it is obvious that Gregory did not, as alleged by Myln, hold the see for about forty-two years. It must be remembered that Myln, who is followed by Keith, makes Gregory the first bishop of this see.

? ? *HUGH*. In R.A. (i. 12) we find 'Hugone Dunkeldensi episcopo' among the witnesses to a charter of King William, in his fifth year, *i.e.* the year ending 8 Dec. 1170. I suspect that this charter, like some others in the opening of R.A., is either a forgery, or has been seriously tampered with, for among the other witnesses are 'Joceline, bishop of Glasgow,' who was not elected till 23 May, 1174 (M.), and 'Ricardo Moravie,' while Richard was not elected to Moray till 1 March, 1187 (M.). Again, Hugh, abbot of Neubottyl, is a witness, who could not have succeeded earlier than 1179 (M.). It should be noted that in the charter 'Hugone de Sigillo, clericu meo' appears also among the witnesses. I am not aware that a Hugh, bishop of Dunkeld, appears elsewhere before Hugh de Sigillo. If he existed at all, he could have been bishop for only a few months: see last entry and the next.

<sup>1</sup> That Gregory did *not* die in 1164 is plain, if we may rely on the breviate of the charters of Cupar, where he witnesses two charters of King William (who succeeded to the throne 9 Dec. 1165) with Andrew, bishop of Caithness (Rogers' *Register of Cupar*, i. 324).

**RICHARD (I.)** styled by Myln (9) 'Richard de Prebenda': but probably through confusion with Richard, the second of that name. He was 'capellanus Regis Willelmi' (M. *s.a.* 1170), and had perhaps been chaplain to William before he came to the throne. (See the Coldingham charter cited by Dalrymple, *Collections*, 322, where we find a Richard 'capellanus comitis Willelmi'.)

He was consecrated on the vigil of St. Laurence (the feast falls on 10 Aug.), 1170, in the cathedral church of St. Andrews by Richard, bishop of St. Andrews (M.). The vigil fell in that year on a Sunday, which fact, so far forth, is a confirmation; for the common law of the Church was that bishops should be consecrated on Sunday. Myln (6) is certainly wrong in making him die in 1173, for he was in Normandy in Dec. 1174, at the time of the treaty of Falaise (*Fæd.* i. 30: Sc. viii. 24). On the contrary M. (*s.a.*) and Sc. (viii. 25) place his death under 1178. [*Chron. Anglo-Scot.*, which at this period seems to be a year too late, says that Richard died in Lent of 1179.] Myln says he died at Cramond (in Midlothian), and was buried in the island of Inchcolm (in the Forth).

Myln, who omits altogether Cormac, the first bishop, places a Cormac as the immediate successor of Richard, and gives his death as 'about 1174.' This will not fit in with the better authenticated list derived from M. There seems no good evidence for another Gregory who is supposed (by K.) to have succeeded Myln's Cormac.

That Richard I. died in 1210 (*Extr.* 75) is obviously wrong, the error arising from a confusion with Richard II. (see below). Elsewhere (*Extr.* 77) he dies in 1173; and Cormac(!) succeeds.

**WALTER DE BIDUN**, 'clericus regis,' 'cancellarius regis Scottorum,' elected to Dunkeld, 1178 (M.). So too Bower (Sc. viii. 25). Myln speaks of him as consecrated, which may be doubted, and seems to have held that he died the same year. At least his statement is open to that interpretation, and it has been so understood by Chalmers (*Caled.* i. 712) and by Grub (i. 301).

The language of M. is as follows: 'Obiit Gaufridus abbas de Dunfermelin, et Walterus de Bidun cancellarius regis Scottorum, ecclesie de Dunkelde electus.' I take the meaning

of this to be that Walter elect of Dunkeld died in 1178. But for our previous information as to the death of Richard in 1178 we should not be justified in considering Walter as elected in this year. As it is, it seems that he was elected and died in the same year, and had not been consecrated. Examples of two deaths introduced by the word 'obiiit' will be found in M. *s.a.* 1152, 1153.

The see seems to have been void till 1183.

**JOHN (I.)** 'cognomine Scotus,' who had been elected to St. Andrews in 1178, and consecrated on 15 June, 1180, failed to obtain possession; and he and his rival Hugh having both resigned their claims into the hands of the pope, John, who had been elected *concorditer* to Dunkeld, was confirmed by the pope to that see (Sc. vi. 40).

It was during his episcopate that the diocese of Argyll was cut out of Dunkeld at the desire of John. This was probably about 1200.

To the charter evidence cited by K. may be added that of his witnessing the quitclaim of subjection granted by O[sbert], abbot of Kelso, to Guido, first abbot of Lindores: see *Chartulary of Lindores* (284). This was probably 1191-1195. He was a papal judge-delegate in 1193 (R.G. i. 68). He consecrated Reinald, bishop of Ross, 10 Sept. 1195 (M.). See also R.G. i. 66; North Berwick (7); and Melrose (85, 86, 113, 114).

J. is bishop of Dunkeld in the year of the birth of Alexander II. (Arbroath, i. 103). Alexander II. was born 24 Aug. 1198. 'John' is bishop of Dunkeld in 1200 A.D. (Inchaffray, p. 8). [He attends the Legatine Council at Perth in Dec. 1201; and grants three charters to Coupar Abbey, two of which were then confirmed by the Papal Legate; the third is presumably to be dated between 1201 and his death in 1203 (Coupar Charters, *penes* the Earl of Moray).]

He died in 1203 (M.), having on his death-bed at Newbattle taken the habit (Sc. vi. 41). He was buried in the choir of Newbattle on the north of the altar (*ib.*).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Robert and Symon, his 'nepotes,' are mentioned c. 1199 (Inchaffray, p. 5). Sc. (viii. 77), by a curious error, makes him postulated to Dunkeld in 1211.

**OSBERT** would appear to have come in after John I. and before Richard II.: see *Rental Book of Cupar*, i. 351. He is mentioned three times and ought to have a place in this catalogue. [But the accuracy of the 'Breviarium antiqui registri monasterii de Cupro' is in this case more than doubtful. One of the three mentions of Bishop Osbert in the 'Breviarium' is (No. 97) 'Confirmatio Heugonis episcopi Dunkeldensis terrarum de Cambusadon quas Johannes primus... Osbertus et Richardus successores eius et predecessores eiis confirmauerunt.' In the charter chest of the Earl of Moray there is a charter of Bishop Hugh, confirming grants of 'Cambesadon' and others 'sicut in carta dicti primi Johannis et confirmatione secundi Ricardi successoris eius continetur.' There is also in the same repository a confirmation by the dean and chapter of Dunkeld, which mentions only the charters of Bishops John and Richard. Thus Bishop Osbert appears to owe his existence to a blunder. But how the blunder arose it is not easy to see.]

**RICHARD (II.) DE PREBENDA**, 'clericus et cognatus domini regis (Willelmi)' succeeded in the same year as John's death,—1203 (M.).

There is a commission from Innocent III. (Adv. Lib. MS. 15. i. 19, No. 4) to determine a cause between R[ichard], bishop of Dunkeld, and the prior of St. Andrews relative to the church of Meigle (R.P.S.A. Preface, xlvi) [dated 24 Oct. 1205].

See Dunfermline (96) for a notice of him between 1204-1210.

Richard died in May, 1210 (M.: Sc. viii. 72): and according to Sc. (viii. 75) 'about Easter.' Easter fell in this year on 18 April. According to the last authority he died at Cramond, and was buried in Inchcolm (*apud insulam Æmoniam*).

It is a gross error of Myln to make 'John de Lacester' follow John the Scott, omitting this Richard altogether. We have seen that he gives the name 'de Prebenda' to the first Richard.

**JOHN (II.)** ('de Lacester,' Myln, and Sc. ix. 27) archdeacon of Lothian.

There was a 'J.' archdeacon of Lothian present at the Council held at Perth in 1201 by the Cardinal Legate (R.G. i. 81).

Elected on St. Mary Magdalene's Day (22 July), 1211 (M.). 'J elect of Dunkeld' witnesses a deed of William, king of Scotland, doing fealty to John, king of England, 1212 (*Fæd.* i. 104). Innocent III., writing to bishops of Glasgow and Brechin (June, 1212), speaks of the death of R., bishop of Dunkeld, and of the election and *consecration* of John, arch-deacon of Lothian, in his place (*Baluzius*, ii. 648, and Migne, *Patrologia*, ccxvi. 634-5).

John died 7 Oct. 1214 (M.). *Scotichronicon* (ix. 27) gives the same year for the death of 'John de Leycester, bp. of Dunkeld,' and adds that he died at Cramond, and was buried at Inchcolm, like his predecessor. His bones were translated to the south of the newly erected choir of the church of Inchcolm, close to the altar, in 1266 (Sc. x. 21).

**HUGH** (Hugo de Sigillo: 'dictus de sigillo' (M.): clericus de sigillo). He had been clerk of King William (R.G. 92: Scone 30).<sup>1</sup> The charter cited from R.G. is dated by Cosmo Innes 1212-1214. He succeeded to the see apparently in 1214 (M.). Hugh, bishop of Dunkeld, confirms a grant made by Richard and John, his predecessors, to Cambuskenneth. This grant is also confirmed by King William at an earlier date (Cambusk. No. 15, No. 16). Sir William Fraser's conjectural date for Bishop Hugh's charter I take to be wrong. He gave benediction to Ralph, newly elected abbot of Melrose, on 29 Sept. 1216 (M.). He is bishop of Dunkeld 24 June, 1224 (Newbattle, 92). H. is bishop of Dunkeld in 1225 (Scone, 53); also in 1226 (Dunferml. 135); and in 1227 (Dryburgh, 145). Hugh died in 1229 (Sc. ix. 47 and *Extr.* 93), 'vir mansuetissimus, qui dicebatur pauperum episcopus.' Myln, who in the matter of the length of his episcopate is very far astray, may perhaps be correct as to the *day* of his death, which he makes 6 Jan. He may have found this to be marked as his obit in some of the registers of Dunkeld.

Hugh speaks of 'John, Richard, and John, our predecessors' (Inchaffray, 30, 42).

**MATTHEW SCOT** (made chancellor of the king (Alexander II.) in 1227 (M.)). Boece (*Epis. Aberdon. Vit.* 11, New

<sup>1</sup> [Evidently a different person from Hugh de Sigillo (Sc. viii. 46), otherwise de Roxburgh, made chancellor 1189: see under Glasgow.]

Spalding Club edit.) says that the clergy and people of Aberdeen postulated Matthew, chancellor of the kingdom with common consent; and that he had scarcely assented when he learned that his accepting Dunkeld, which was offered to him 'omnium suffragiis' would be especially pleasing to the king. He accepted Dunkeld. He died before consecration in 1229 (Sc. ix. 47).

**GILBERT**, chaplain to Bishop Hugh (Sc. ix. 47), appointed (?) 1229.

He was, presumably, the unnamed bishop of Dunkeld to whom Gregory IX. wrote (22 May, 1235) granting permission to raise the priory of Inchcolm in his diocese into an abbacy, and to give to the monastery, with the consent of his cathedral chapter, a portion of the revenues of the see, which had become augmented in his time *in centum marcharum argenti annuo redditu* (T. No. 78). There is a charter of Gilbert, bishop of Dunkeld (undated) (Scone, 63); and G. is bishop Aug. 1234 (Inchaffray, 53).

Gilbert died in 1236 (M.) and was buried in the monastery of Inchcolm (in the Forth) on the first Sunday after Easter (*dominica in albis*), which in 1236 fell on 6 April (Myln, 9).

**GEOFFREY** (Galfredus de Liberatione, Sc. ix. 52. Gaufridus), clerk to the king (Alexander II.): canon of Dunkeld (T. No. 85): precentor of Glasgow, 21 Feb. 1235-6 (Melrose, ii. 667).

[As one of the king's council he was present when King Alexander II. (apparently in 1219, see S.H.R. viii. 173) gave the church of Erolin (Airlie) to the abbey of Coupar, as we learn from a curious letter of his to the papal delegates appointed to decide between the rival claims of Citeaux and of Coupar to that church (Coupar Charters, *penes* Earl of Moray).] While still clerk of the king Galfred de Liberatione had granted to the sacristan of Scone the lands which the king had given him in the vills of Clacmanan, Dunkeld, Scone, and Inverness, and a stone of wax which the king had given him out of the house of Robert of London in Aberdeen, to maintain two lights at the Mary Mass in the church of Scone for the weal of the soul of the king (Scone, No. 93).

Elected 1236 (M.). 'G.' is still elect of Dunkeld on 3 Dec. 1236 (Melrose, 185, 230).

Gregory IX. wrote, 6 Sept. 1236, to the bishops of Glasgow, Dunblane, and Brechin to examine the *postulation* of Geoffrey by the dean and chapter of Dunkeld, and, if satisfied that the postulation had been canonically celebrated and the person fit, to dispense him for defect of birth, he being *de soluto et soluta genitus*, to take the oath of fealty to the Roman See, and to consecrate him. The postulation had been represented to the pope as made *concorditer* (T. No. 85). The result was favourable to Geoffrey.

Geoffrey is bishop of Dunkeld 16 April, 1237 (Dunfermline, 119); and declares that 31 Dec. 1238 was in the third year of his pontificate (Inchaffray, 57). This shows that he must have been consecrated soon after the receipt of the pope's letter. He speaks of having inspected charters of his predecessors 'the first John, Richard, the second John, Hugh and Gilbert.' This is valuable as pointing to the order of the bishops of Dunkeld.

In 1238 Geoffrey was postulated to St. Andrews,<sup>1</sup> but the postulation was disapproved of by the king and not confirmed by the pope (Sc. vi. 42 : T. No. 100 : W. ii. 244). See under St. Andrews.

According to Myln (10) Geoffrey made a new erection of his cathedral 'ad instar ecclesiae Sarum,' introduced the 'cantus Gregorianus,' added to the number of the canons, made provision for the endowment of new canonries, and enacted that none but canons continuously resident should share in the *communiae canonicorum*. [The charter evidence so far confirms Myln's statement. It is in Bishop Geoffrey's time that we first hear of a dean and chapter at Dunkeld. There is a dean in Bishop Gilbert's time (Dunfermline, 78), and a precentor under Bishop Hugh (Coupar Charters). Earlier there were canons and deans; but these must have been rural deans, for they rank *after* the canons.]

He was appointed with William, bishop of Glasgow, by Gregory IX. (11 June, 1237) to deal with the impoverished state of the see and cathedral of Dunblane (T. No. 91; Inchaffray, Bannatyne Club edit. pp. xxix-xxx). We find 'G.' bishop of Dunkeld 31 Aug. 1241 (Newbattle, 90), the bishop of

<sup>1</sup> Probably after 1 July, 1238, for he is styled simply bishop of Dunkeld at that date (*Red Book of Menteith*, ii. 326).

Dunkeld (unnamed) 22 Sept. 1241 (Kelso, 194), and Galfred, bishop of Dunkeld, 10 Nov. 1243 (R.M.S. ii. 3136).

Geoffrey, with other bishops, swore to acknowledge the subjection of Alexander II. to Henry of England in 1244 (*Fæd.* i. 257).

Geoffrey was present on the occasion of placing the child Alexander III. on the throne at Scone, 13 July, 1249 (Sc. x. 1). A few months later he was dead. He died at Tibermure (Tippermuir) on St. Cecilia's day (22 Nov.), 1249, and was buried in the cathedral of Dunkeld (Sc. ix. 63: Myln, 10-11). His epitaph as given in Sc. reads :

‘Hac Dunkeldensis cleri decus, aegis, et ensis,  
Gaufridus tumba pausat, sub patre Columba.’<sup>1</sup>

We find (as has been stated) ‘G. electo Dunkeldensi’ on 3 Dec. in 22nd year of Alexander, *i.e.* 1236 (Melrose, i. 185 and 230). This taken with what has been said above points to his having been consecrated between 3 Dec. and 31 Dec. 1236. Charter evidence after his consecration is frequent. He had a sister, Alyx by name, whose son Henry held land in the vill of Perth (Dunferml. No. 140).

After the death of Geoffrey, Myln inserts one whom he calls ‘Richard the king's chancellor,’ who lived only one year, and died at Cramond, and was buried at Inchcolm in 1250. [One cannot but suspect that he is only a double of the next following.] But there was a bishop of Dunkeld (unnamed) on 30 Aug. 1250 (C.P.R. i. 261).

King Alexander grants a charter to the burgesses of Inverness, dated at Scone, 3 Dec. *anno regni* 2. ‘Testibus DAVID electo Dunkeldensi, David abbe de Neubotill, Alano hostiario justiciario Scotie, et Gilberto de Haia’ (R.M.S. ii. No. 804). The witnesses show that Alexander must be Alexander III.; the date therefore is 3 Dec. 1250. It seems that neither the original charter nor its confirmation [in 1464] is now among the burgh records of Inverness. [But there is in the Register House a transcript of the original made in 1865, which gives only D. as the Christian name of both bishop and abbot.] Now it seems certain, or all but certain, that the name of the abbot

<sup>1</sup> Myln reads ‘Hic’ for ‘Hac.’

of Newbattle in 1250 was Roger (see M. *s.a.* 1236, 1256). Hence it is possible that an 'R' was misread as 'D,' and expanded into 'David.' If this be true of the abbot, it may be also true that an 'R' (for Richard) may have been similarly misread in the case of the bishop. In mediaeval script one of the forms of capital 'R' bears a considerable resemblance to one of the forms of capital 'D.'

**RICHARD (III.) OF INVERKEITHING.** According to Myln (11) 'camerarius regis.' Bower (Sc. x. 3) also represents him as chamberlain of the king, and says he was advanced to this see in 1250.<sup>1</sup> From Inchaffray (80) we learn that 4 Non. Aug. 1263 was in the twelfth year of his pontificate. This shows that he was consecrated after 2 Aug. 1251, and before 2 Aug. 1252. In the charter (Inchaffray) just referred to he says he has inspected charters of his predecessors 'John the first, Richard, John the second, Hugh, Gilbert, and Galfred.' Richard, bishop of Dunkeld, was at the shrine of St. Cuthbert in 1254 (*Durham Rites*, Surtees Soc., pp. 151-152).

In 1255 he was appointed at the convention of Roxburgh one of the guardians of Alexander III. (A.P. i. 419). See also *Fœd.* i. 329. He was bishop in 1260 (Cambusk. No. 184) : in 1263-4 (Scone, 74) :<sup>2</sup> in 1271 (Arbroath, i. 191-2) : in 1264 he was auditor of accounts [in Exchequer] (E.R. i. 11).

In 1265 he erected at his own cost the new choir in the church of the monastery of Inchcolm (Sc. x. 20). In 1266 the bones of John of "Leycestre" were translated to the south, and the bones of Richard (I.)<sup>3</sup> and Gilbert to the north of the new choir at Inchcolm (Sc. x. 21). In 1268 Richard, bishop of Dunkeld, together with Robert, bishop of Dunblane, attended

<sup>1</sup>[As chamberlain he witnessed a royal charter 8 April, 1249 (North Durham App. No 75).]

<sup>2</sup>He there confirms concessions of his predecessors John, Gilbert, and Galfrid, to Scone 'in crastino cinerum m. cc. lxiii.' The morrow of Ash-Wednesday in 1263-4 was 6 March.

<sup>3</sup>[Both Richard I. and Richard II. were buried at Inchcolm, according to the text. Bower mentions only Richard II. as having been so buried, so perhaps he should be understood to mean that it was Richard II. who was translated.]

the Council held at London shortly after Easter, convened by Ottobon the Legate (Sc. x. 24).

Pope Clement (IV.) confirms the church of Madderty to Inchaffray *in proprios usus*, in the time of 'our venerable brother' Richard—the Bull mentions Richard's predecessors John, Richard, John, Hugh, Gilbert, Galfred : dated Viterbii x Kal. Junii second year of his pontificate (23 May, 1266). Richard is with Alexander III. at Scone 28 March, 1270 (*Stat. Ec. Scot.* i. lxxiii). He is at Dunkeld in July, 1271 (Arbroath, i. 191).

Richard of Inverkeithing died on the feast of St. Magnus Martyr (16 April), 1272. His body was buried at Dunkeld, and his heart in the north wall of the choir which he had built in Inchcolm (Sc. x. 30). *Lanercost* (97) places the death of Richard de Invircethin 'Duncheldensis episcopus' under the year 1275 (which must be an error), and relates that it was commonly believed that he had been poisoned, hinting that this was by order of the king with a view to his obtaining possession of the movable estate of the bishop.

The writer of the *Chronicon de Lanercost* was a credulous gossip.

**ROBERT DE STUTEVILLE** (D'Estotville), dean of Dunkeld (as early at least as 28 June, 1253, when he was elected bishop of St. Andrews; but the election was quashed; see St. Andrews). He had been a canon of Dunkeld in Bishop Geoffrey's († 1249) time (R.P.S.A. 308). He was dean 1256-7 (*Fœd.* i. 353); dean in Bishop Richard's time (R.P.S.A. 309). According to Bower (Sc. x. 30) 'genere nobilis.' Succeeded 'per electionem' (Sc. and Myln) perhaps in 1272; but, if so, there was some delay in the papal confirmation. On 7 May, 1273, Gregory X. commits to the bishops of Moray, Aberdeen, and Glasgow to examine into the learning and fitness of Master Robert, dean of Dunkeld, whom the canons had elected *per viam compromissi*, and, if satisfied, to confirm his election which the pope declares to have been canonically celebrated, and to consecrate him, after having received the oath of fealty to the Roman See (T. No. 255).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 1277 the bishop of Dunkeld granted an indulgence of twenty days to persons visiting Lincoln Cathedral. (Wordsworth's *Mediaeval Services*, pp. 306-7.)

Robert must have died before Dec. 1283 (most probably early in that year, or at some time in the preceding year); for see next two entries.

**HUGH DE STRIVELIN** (*i.e.* Stirling), canon (?) of Dunkeld). From C.P.R. i. 469 we learn that 'on the death of Bishop Robert the chapter had elected canon Hugh de Strivelin, who died at the papal court while prosecuting the business of his election.' Our historians have taken no notice of this election.

**WILLIAM**, dean of Dunkeld. On the news of the death of Hugh de Strivelin having been announced to the chapter by Masters Peter de Tylloy and Matthew de Crombech, canons, the chapter commissioned the dean, Robert the chancellor, Canon Weland de Stykelaw, and the two said canons to elect, who elected William, dean of Dunkeld, whom the pope consecrated by O., bishop of Tusculum. This is related in a letter of Pope Martin IV., dated Orvieto, Id. Dec. (13 Dec.) 1283 (C.P.R. i. 469). Concurrent letters were sent to the chapter of Dunkeld, to the clergy and to the people of the diocese, to all vassals of the said church, and to the king of Scotland (*ib.* 470). The bishop of Tusculum mentioned above was Ordonius (by some called Odo), created cardinal in 1277-8 (Ciaconius, ii. 225). Of this William, hitherto unknown, so far as I am aware, nothing further appears save that he was at the shrine of St. Cuthbert at Durham in 1285 (*Durham Rites*, Surtees Soc. p. 155); and that he is mentioned in the confirmation of his successor. Perhaps he lived till the end of 1287 or beginning of 1288, for his successor was confirmed before the middle of April, 1288. See next entry.

It is certainly remarkable that a bishop of Dunkeld for some four years should seem to have left no trace in Scottish record.

**MATTHEW DE CRAMBETH**, dean of Aberdeen (C.P.R. i. 491). This is doubtless the Matthew de Crombech, canon of Dunkeld, noticed in the last entry.

On 10 April, 1288,<sup>1</sup> the pope, Nicholas IV., wrote to Matthew, bishop of Dunkeld: he recites that on the death of

<sup>1</sup> In the copy of this letter in the British Museum, *Monumenta Vaticana*, Addit. MS. 15,364, fol. 187, as printed by Stevenson (*Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland*, i. pp. 45 ff.), the letter

William, bishop of Dunkeld, the dean (Symon) and chapter convened to elect a successor. They proceeded *per viam compromissi*. The *compromissarii* were five in number, viz. Matthew, dean of Aberdeen and canon of Dunkeld, the dean of Dunkeld, Gregory, archdeacon of St. Andrews, and William, archdeacon of Teviotdale, and Thomas de Preston, all being canons of Dunkeld. Matthew was elected by the rest *concorditer*. At the instance of the chapter Matthew consented. The decree of the election was laid before the pope, examined by three cardinals, and confirmed. Matthew was consecrated by the pope himself (*per nos ipsos*). Concurrent letters were sent to the dean and chapter, the clergy and people of the diocese, the vassals of the church of Dunkeld, the bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow and the other guardians of the realm, and to Margaret, daughter of the king of Norway (T. No. 306).

Myln (12) says that Matthew 'per Anglos institutus est,' which is very probable, but he blunders in placing Matthew's appointment in 1300, which blunder is followed in *Extr.* (131). We find Matthew 'permissione divina' bishop of Dunkeld on 12 Aug. 1289 (Holyrood, 71). He was at the convention of Brigham, 17 March, 1289-90 (A.P. i. 441). In the Parliament of King John (1292-3) Matthew was indicted for having 'in Curia Romana' assented to the collation of 'a certain Roman' to the prebend of Cathbuthaw in prejudice of the royal dignity. He defended himself and was acquitted (A.P. i. 446). Matthew, having sworn fealty to Edward, 4 May, 1304, had the temporalities of the see and his own patrimonial property (partly in Kinross and partly in the barony of Crambeth in Fife) restored to him (B.C. ii. 1528). [He witnessed two charters by Sir John de Kynros to Coupar Abbey about 1304 (*penes* Earl of Moray).] He was sent with others to the king of France on political business in 1295 (Lanercost, 191). He was ambassador to France in 1303 (A.P. i. 454). He was in Edward I.'s Parliament at Westminster in 1305 (*ib.* i. 119).

Matthew must have died before 28 Aug. 1309, for at that date Edward II. of England wrote to the pope that his almoner, is dated 10 April (iiij. Id. Aprilis); and so Eubel i. 340 [and C.P.R. i. 491. Theiner's date, 13 April, must be a misprint].

John de Leck, had been elected to the see of Dunkeld (*Fædera*, ii. 86). On 14 Dec. 1309 Edward appoints John de Leck to receive the books, vestments, and other *ornamenta* of the chapel of the late bishop, falling to the king by the custom of Scotland (*ib.* ii. 99). But the election was disputed (see next entry), and the see remained void for some three years. Edward II. advanced 200 lbs. to promote Leck's appointment at the Roman Court (B.C. iii. 182). See next entry.

Matthew's death is erroneously assigned to 1312 in *Extr.* (137).

**WILLIAM SINCLAIR** (de Sancto Claro): brother of Sir Henry Sinclair of Roslin: canon of Dunkeld.

On 8 May, 1312 (T. No. 398), Pope Clement V., in his letter to William, bishop of Dunkeld, recites that on the death of Matthew the chapter convened for an election, and proceeded *per viam scrutinii*, the appointed scrutineers being three canons of Dunkeld (named). They took the votes of themselves and of the other canons then resident; and the result was that William, canon of Dunkeld, was elected unanimously. William consented, and proceeded to the Apostolic See with proctors of the chapter. But John (presumably John de Leck: see last entry), who at that time claimed to be a canon of Dunkeld (*qui tunc pro canonico dicte Dunkeldensis ecclesie se gerebat*), impugned the election of William, asserting that he was about to be elected by some whom he said were canons of Dunkeld, but *extra Dunkeldensem ecclesiam*. Both John and William appeared before Cardinal James,<sup>1</sup> cardinal deacon of St. George in Velabro, who had been appointed judge by the pope. Each contended that the election of the other was uncanonical. While the litigation was proceeding John (who had the support of the king of England) was promoted to be archbishop of Dublin (18 May, 1311: see C.P.R. ii. 83. The temporality of Dublin granted, 20 July, 1311: B.C. iii. 222) and therefore retired from the action. The pope then declared William's election to have been canonically celebrated, and confirmed William, 'generis nobilitate preclarum,' to the see of Dunkeld, and afterwards caused him to be consecrated by Berengarius, cardinal bishop of Tusculum.<sup>2</sup> With this letter there was a

<sup>1</sup> Caietanus de Stephanischis (*Ciaconius*, ii. 324).

<sup>2</sup> See *Ciaconius*, ii. 373.

concurrent letter to the chapter of Dunkeld. It is significant that the usual concurrent letter to the king is not recorded. The pope might well be doubtful who was king of Scotland. In Edward's letter to the pope of 28 Aug. 1309 he had described the dean and chapter as zealous adherents of him, and as having convened in a place (not named) where they might be safe from hostile incursion, and there electing John de Leck *concorditer*. He had evidently been deceived (*Fœd.* ii. 86). It seems from what has been cited that William's election had preceded the (so-called) election (not at Dunkeld) of John.

William Sinclair was probably striving to make his way back to Scotland when, on 2 Feb. 1312-3, Edward II. granted, at the bishop's request, a safe-conduct to 'the bishop elect of Dunkeld said to have been confirmed by the pope,' to turn aside at Berwick-on-Tweed to get himself arrayed, thence proceeding to the king (Edward II.), provided he goes no further into Scotland or holds converse with the enemy (B.C. iii. No. 301).

It is to be noted that, long prior to his confirmation by the pope, Sinclair had, as bishop of Dunkeld, taken part in the political action of the Scottish bishops. On 24 Feb. 1309-10, at Dundee, he was a party to the declaration of the clergy of Scotland, including eleven other bishops, that they had willingly done fealty to Robert, illustrious king of Scotland, as their lawful king (A.P. i. 460).<sup>1</sup>

Bishop Sinclair is at Dunkeld 26 Oct. 1318 (Inchaffray No. 126); he is with King Robert at Forfar 20 Oct. 1321 and 1 Sept. 1322 (Arbroath, i. 213, 210), at Berwick-on-Tweed 4 June, 1323 (R.M.S. i. p. 107, No. 58, where the king's name is given David, evidently by mistake for Robert), and at Arbroath 10 Jan. 1325-6 and 16 Aug. 1326 (Melrose, 328, 334). He is a witness c. 1332 (*Wemyss Book*, ii. 12).

<sup>1</sup> The account of William's valour in repulsing the English who had landed at Donibristle, when he sallied forth from his manor of Auchtertool and led the hesitating sheriff to the attack, and how for this King Robert used to style him 'my bishop,' is told by Bower (Sc. xii. 25) and Myln (14). In the latter will be found some notices of his church building.

We find Sinclair present at the coronation of Edward Balliol at Scone on 24 Sept. 1332 (Sc. xiii. 24), and he is in a parliament held in Edinburgh by Edward Balliol on 12 Feb. 1333-4 (A.P. i. 542). Yet in 1335-6 the bishop of Dunkeld 'extat contra fidem,' and the lands of the see at Kirkcramond are accounted for to Edward, king of England (B.C. iii. p. 335).

Sinclair died, according to Myln (15) on 27 June, 1337, and there is no reason for doubting Myln's statement. The see appears to have become vacant in the year from Michaelmas, 1336, to Michaelmas, 1337. It was certainly vacant at Michaelmas, 1337: for an account was rendered to Edward III. of the revenues of the church of Cramond, 'que quidem ecclesia est in manu regis per vacacionem episcopatus Dunkeldensis' (B.C. iii. p. 391).<sup>1</sup>

**RICHARD (IV.) DE PILMOR**, who at the time of his appointment was precentor of Moray (C.P.R. iii. 126, 182), canon of Aberdeen with the prebend of Cruden (*ib.* 150), and canon of Ross with the prebend of Contan (*ib.* 183).

On account of a disputed election and the death of the pope before whom the litigation had begun, the see was vacant for some seven or eight years.

On 5 July, 1344, Clement VI. writes to Richard de Pilmor, 'elect of Dunkeld,' and narrates that on the death of William, bishop of Dunkeld, who had died in Scotland (*in illis partibus*), the chapter had convened for the election of his successor. The

<sup>1</sup> In *Registrum Glasguense* (i. 231) we have a copy of a writ, dated at Scone, near Perth, in the General Council assembled there on the Tuesday next before the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin (25 March), 1324, to which the seal of 'Walter,' bishop of Dunkeld and conservator of the whole clergy of Scotland, is said to be attached. There can be, I think, no doubt that 'Walter' is a clerical error for 'William.' It may be observed that 'Walter' (as the name of another person) occurs in the writ, and, for the last time, immediately preceding the notice of the bishop of Dunkeld. William was certainly the name of the bishop immediately preceding Richard de Pilmor (see next entry). [Under Glasgow the date is explained to be 21 March, 1324-5. William, bishop of Dunkeld, appears in two Coupar writs as present at this Council, both dated 21 March, 1324 [-5] (*penes* Earl of Moray).]

electors were divided ; and the election was disputed between Richard de Pilmor, priest, and the late Malcolm of Inepeffren (Innerpeffray), canon of Dunkeld. Both parties resorted in person to the Apostolic See.<sup>1</sup> And to both elections opposition was raised by Duncan, precentor of Dunkeld. Pope Benedict XII. submitted the whole question to Bertrand, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, who was to report to his Holiness. While the process was still *sub judice*, first, Malcolm died, and then Benedict XII. (25 April, 1342). Clement VI., who succeeded, ordered the business of the inquiry to be resumed. Bertrand reported ; and the pope, 'non tamen persone tue vicio,' but 'for certain reasonable causes' (which as usual are not stated), quashed the election and declared it null and void. But *auctoritate apostolica* he appoints Richard to Dunkeld. Concurrent letters were sent to the chapter, to the clergy and people of the diocese, to the vassals of the church of Dunkeld, and to David (II.), king of Scotland (T. No. 559).

A few days later, 14 July, 1344, the pope grants leave to Richard, elect of Dunkeld, to contract a loan of 3000 gold florins on the movable and immovable estate of the bishopric as held by him and his successors, Richard having declared that otherwise he did not believe that he could obtain credit. The pope limits the bond over Dunkeld to four years. The object of the loan is stated to be to meet the expenses incurred, or to be incurred, in 'expediting his business' (T. No. 560).

Doubtless the money was raised, and the Bulls expedited, for on 27 Sept. 1344 he is commanded to betake himself to his diocese, he having been consecrated by Peter, cardinal-bishop of Palestrina (C.P.R. iii. 170).<sup>2</sup> On 25 Jan. 1344-5 Richard was granted by the pope an indult to choose his confessor, who shall give him, being penitent, plenary remission at the hour of death (C.P.R. iii. 162). At the same date he is granted faculties to dispense (a) six sons of priests, (b) six persons of

<sup>1</sup> The election probably took place towards the end of 1337 ; for we find Edward III. granting (3 Jan. 1337-8) a safe-conduct to Master Malcolm de Innerpeffri, elect of Dunkeld in Scotland, who is going to Rome to have his election confirmed (B.C. iii. No. 1254). Perhaps Malcolm was an adherent of the English party.

<sup>2</sup> The consecrating bishop was Peter de Prato (Ciaconius, ii. 416).

illegitimate birth, and (c) six sons of deacons, to be ordained and hold a benefice each (*ib.* 169).

Richard de Pilmor did not long hold the see. We find him and another Pilmor, John de Pilmor, bishop of Moray, in the chapter-house of the cathedral at Elgin on 20 Oct. 1345 (R.M. 156). With several other Scottish bishops he signed a petition to the pope for a dispensation for the marriage of Robert Stewart with Elizabeth More. Before the petition was granted (22 Nov. 1347) he was dead. See next entry.<sup>1</sup>

**DUNCAN DE STRATHERN**, precentor of Moray.

He was appointed by papal provision, 15 Oct. 1347, to the see void by the death of Richard (T. No. 575). The pope states that he had specially reserved the appointment, and makes no reference to a capitular election. But there is other evidence that there had been an election at Dunkeld; for *ROBERT DE DEN*, archdeacon of Dunkeld, on 28 Jan. 1347-8, was granted by the pope the reservation of a benefice, he having been elected to the see of Dunkeld in ignorance that it had been reserved to the pope (C.P.R. iii. 245). Den seems to have died before Oct. 1349 (*ib.* 315), perhaps at the Apostolic See (*ib.* 593).

Shortly after Duncan's provision to the see he was allowed by the pope (9 Nov. 1347) to contract a loan of 2000 florins to meet his expenses at the Apostolic See (C.P.R. iii. 264).

That Duncan's name was Strathern is inferred on comparing C.P.R. iii. 182 with 240. Myln (15) says Duncan was an Englishman and had come to Scotland with his cousin, Walter de Fotheringay, in company with Edward Balliol. But the name Duncan and the name Strathern do not favour this statement.

Duncan was present at David II.'s parliament held at Dundee, 15 May, 1350 (see charter cited by Crawfurd, *Officers of State*, 288).<sup>2</sup> He was bishop of Dunkeld, 1 April, 1354 (Kelso, 389: see also A.P. Supplement, 9). He must have

<sup>1</sup> Presumably the bishops of Moray and Dunkeld were brothers, for John de Kethenis was a nephew of Bishop Richard (C.P.R. iii. 153), and he was also a nephew of Bishop John (*ib.* 463).

<sup>2</sup> [See *Douglas Book*, iii. 394.]

died later in the same year or early in 1355.<sup>1</sup> See next entry.

**JOHN (III.)**, precentor of Dunkeld.

He was provided by the pope (Innocent VI.) on 18 May, 1355 (T. No. 621). In the letter referred to, the pope states that the vacancy had been caused by the death of Duncan, that the chapter of Dunkeld, ignorant, as they alleged, of the pope having reserved the see to his own provision, had elected John, precentor of Dunkeld, being in priest's orders, and that he in like ignorance had assented to his election, and had come in person for confirmation to the Apostolic See. The pope pronounced the election null, as being contrary to his reservation. But nevertheless he appoints the said John. John was consecrated before 29 June, 1355, for on that day the pope orders him to betake himself to his see, he having been consecrated by Peter, cardinal-bishop of Palestrina (T. No. 623).

He seals a letter of credence *in concilio* at Perth, 17 Jan. 1356-7 (A.P. i. 515).

John, bishop of Dunkeld, grants a charter 16 April, 1360 (Scone, 135).

The exact date of John's death is uncertain. John, bishop of Dunkeld, was accepted (with other bishops) as an arbiter by the chapter of Glasgow, 2 Sept. 1362 (R.G. i. 271). He was [at St. Andrews 10 Jan. 1362-3] (R.M.S. folio, p. 44, No. 125), and in Parliament at Perth 24 July, 1365 (A.P. i. 496). John, bishop of Dunkeld, was a witness to the fourteen years' truce signed at the castle of Edinburgh, 20 July, 1369 (*Fæd.* III. ii. 877).

**JOHN OF CARRICK.** He appears as 'elect of Dunkeld' in 1370 (E.R. ii. 356). But he probably failed to obtain confirmation, for, as bishop of Dunkeld, we hear no more of him. Is this the John of Carrick who was appointed chancellor of Scotland in 1370? John of Carrick, canon of Glasgow, chancellor, appears as a witness on 4 April, 1370 (R.M.S. ii. No. 494). As to John of Carrick, the chancellor, evidence is abundant.

**MICHAEL DE MONYMUSK**, dean of Glasgow, chamberlain of the king (?).

<sup>1</sup> Myln is seriously in error in placing Duncan's death in 1363.

[On 13 Nov. 1370 Urban V. appointed Michael, elect of Dunkeld, to be bishop thereof, the appointment having been reserved to the pope in the lifetime of John, late bishop. Michael was dean of Glasgow and licentiate *in decretis* (Reg. Avin. 172, 498). Letters Conservatory were granted to Michael, elect of Dunkeld, 26 Nov. 1370 (*ib.* 172, 477). His *obligavit* is dated 26 July, 1372 (E. i. 241).]

There was a bishop of Dunkeld (unnamed) 1 July, 1372 (C.P.R. iv. 101). 'Michael Dunkeldensis' is present in the parliament held at Scone, 3 April, 1373 (A.P. i. 562).

We find 'Michael, by divine permission, bishop of Dunkeld,' on 23 Oct. 1374 (Scone, 145).

According to Myln (15) Michael died 1 March, 1376, and was buried in the choir of Dunkeld, on the right of William Sinclair. There does not seem to be any evidence, except that of Myln, for Michael being chamberlain of Scotland.<sup>1</sup>

*ANDREW UMFRAY*, dean of Dunkeld, elect, provided by Gregory XI. 17 June, 1377 (E. i. 241). He now appears for the first time among the bishops of Dunkeld. [His surname appears from C.P.R. iv. 222, which also shows that he had previously been precentor, and held other benefices there specified. He died at the papal court, evidently unconsecrated (C.P.R. Pet. 555).]

**JOHN DE PEBLYS**, chancellor of Scotland (1377).

Appointed perhaps in 1377, or certainly early in 1378. There are *lacunae* at this time in the papal records. We have, however, evidence that his appointment was certainly before the death of Gregory XI. (who died 27 March, 1378). On 26 Oct. 1378 Clement VII. (anti-pope) makes provision to

<sup>1</sup> There is much evidence as to Michael's earlier history. He had been dean of Dunblane and dean of Aberdeen, from which he was eventually, after much litigation, in which he had spent his goods and those of some of his friends, removed. In 1366 Michael de Monymusk, licentiate in Canon Law, petitions Urban V. for a vacant canonry and prebend in Aberdeen, notwithstanding that he had the deanery of Glasgow. While dean of Dunblane he held also prebends in Brechin and Ross. See C.P.R. Pet. i. 142, 325, 326, 375, 379, 506, 527.

Adam de Tiningham, dean of Aberdeen, of a canonry and prebend in Glasgow void by reason of Gregory XI. having promoted John de Peblys, papal collector in Scotland, to the see of Dunkeld (C.P.R. Pet. i. 538). [From Clement VII. he had on 22 Nov. 1378 faculties to confer canonries and to reserve dignities in his cathedral (Reg. Avin. 215, 120 f.); on 21 Feb. 1378-9 the bishop of St. Andrews was commissioned to absolve him for having adhered to Urban VI., and he was granted a faculty to be consecrated by any Catholic bishop (*ib.* 70 f.). He had several indults 17 July, 1379 (*ib.* 121 f.), and two days later an indulgence for ten years was granted to those who should visit the church of Dunkeld and contribute to its fabric, much wasted by wars and pestilence (*ib.* 122).] His *obligavit* is dated 19 Oct. 1379 (E. i. 241). He was not consecrated at once, for we find him as elect of Dunkeld 17 April, 1379 (C.P.R. Pet. i. 544). He was still elect of Dunkeld when he gets a safe-conduct to England 10 May, 1379 (*Rot. Scot.* ii. 15). Indeed, as late as 19 March, 1383-4, he subscribed a letter to the chancellor of England (Richard Scrope) only as 'Johannes de Peblys, confirmatus ecclesie Dunkeldensis, Cancellarius Scocie' (B.C. iv. No. 322). This shows that we cannot accept his appearance as 'bishop of Dunkeld' on 11 Aug. 1380 (R.A. i. 112) as a proof of consecration. [Nor his appearance as bishop and chancellor 16 July, 1378 (R.M.S. folio, p. 156, No. 9), and regularly from 24 Oct. 1378 (Morton, ii. 138-9).] Scotland at this time adhered to the anti-popes; and it appears that John was, before 30 Oct. 1379, deprived by the pope, whom he did not recognise and whose acts were ineffective in Scotland. See the passage relating to the appointment of Robert de Derling, which is given in the appendix to this article relating to the appointments of the papal, as distinguished from the anti-papal, bishops of this see.

It was perhaps some information as to Derling's appointment, misunderstood, that made Myln (16) assign the death of John de Peblys to 1396. [His death really occurred before 1 Feb. 1390-1 (see below).] See next entry.

We find 'John our chancellor, bishop of Dunkeld,' on

14 Feb. and 18 March, 1389-90 (R.M.S. folio, pp. 197, 178).<sup>1</sup>

**ROBERT SINCLAIR** (de Sancto Claro), bishop of Orkney. He is spoken of as 'elect of Orkney' on 28 Nov. 1383 (C.P.R. Pet. i. 566). Provided to Orkney by Clement VII., 27 Jan. 1383-4 (E. i. 395).

He was translated to Dunkeld 1 Feb. 1390-1 (E. i. 241), and see C.P.R. Pet. i. 575.

He was doubtless the Robert, bishop of Dunkeld, whose petitions were dealt with by Clement VII. on 25 and 26 Oct. 1394, for among the petitions is one on behalf of William de Sancto Claro 'his nephew' (C.P.R. Pet. i. 589-590).

The legal proceedings against Robert, bishop of Dunkeld, which Keith places under Robert de Cardeny, his successor, really belong to the episcopate of Robert Sinclair.

From the *Chartulary of Cambuskenneth* (95-106) we learn of differences between Robert, bishop of Dunkeld, and William Blackburn, abbot of Cambuskenneth. The matter was tried before an ecclesiastical judge-delegate in the parish church of

<sup>1</sup> Earlier history of John de Peblys. [In 1351 he graduated at Paris both as determinant and licentiate. In 1352 and 1355 he was procurator of the English nation there; and in 1355 he was chosen to carry the roll (of petitions) of the English nation to the pope (*Auct. Chart. Univ. Paris.* i. 149, 150, 155, 176).] In 1374 he was archdeacon of St. Andrews, M.A., doctor of Canon Law, papal nuncio, and collector of papal dues in Scotland, Sodor, and Orkney. He had canonries and prebends in Glasgow and Aberdeen, and the church of Douglas in the former diocese (C.P.R. iv. 152, 195). He had been official of Glasgow for at least three years in April, 1363 (C.P.R. Pet. i. 417), and Treasurer of Glasgow in 1365 (*ib.* 506). [He is chancellor 30 March, 1377 (*Crawfurd's Renfrewshire*, edit. 1818, p. 394), and till March, 1389-90 (see text).] We find a John de Peblys master of the Hospital of Peebles, on behalf of whom King David II. commanded the bailies and community of Peebles to provide a fitting place in the town where John might build a chapel in honour of the Virgin Mary: 8 March, 1362-3 (*Charters of Peebles*, 8). He may have been our John. John, bishop of Dunkeld, witnesses a charter of John Kennedy of Dunure (prescribing duties and revenues of the chaplains at Maybole) 1 March, 1383-4 (*Crossraguel*, i. 35).

St. Andrews, and the result was that the bishop was sentenced to excommunication; and the sentence was promulgated during the celebration of mass on 25 March, 1393, in the church of the Carmelite Friars of Tullilum in the diocese of Dunkeld. The affair was perhaps adjusted by the interference (extra-judicial) of the king on 11 Feb. 1394-5 (*ib.* p. 317). Sir W. Fraser is in error (*Cambuskenneth*, p. lviii) in saying that Sinclair could not have continued in office after his excommunication. He is certainly bishop of Dunkeld at the date just given, and had, doubtless, been absolved.

Sinclair is unknown to Myln and to Keith, and by the latter he is confounded with Robert de Cardeny.

On 18 Jan. 1394-5 Robert, bishop of Dunkeld, with a retinue of 56 horses (*evictionibus*) visited the church of Alveth (Alva) and was entertained at the abbey of Cambuskenneth (*Cambusk.* No. 17).

As to the earlier history of this prelate, we find a Robert de Sancto Claro, dean of Moray, 18 July, 1378, and 11 Oct. 1380 (R.M. 183, 187).

We do not know when Robert Sinclair died, but [it was before 27 Nov. 1398]; see next entry.

**ROBERT DE CARDENY** (Cardany, Cardoni, Cardine, Carden, Cardny, Cairney), son of John Cardeny of Cardeny and afterwards, by marriage, of Foss (*Extr.* 204). Dean of Dunkeld (E. i. 241).

The succession of two bishops of the same Christian name commonly makes charter evidence uncertain. He was provided by Benedict XIII. 27 Nov. 1398 (E.). He is said by Myln to have been raised to the episcopate by Robert III. out of the affection which the king entertained for the bishop's sister, who presumably was Mariota de Cairdney 'dilecta regis' (Robert II.), mother of King Robert III.'s half-brother, Sir James Stewart of Cairdney.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 1379-80 the king of Scotland (Robert II.) petitioned the pope on behalf of a member of his household, Robert de Cardun (*sic*), student in arts in Paris, for a canonry in Moray, notwithstanding that he has canonries and prebends in Dunkeld and Dunblane (C.P.R. Pet. i. 553). Could this be our Robert? Note the variant 'Carden' among the ways of spelling his name. In 1394 a payment was made

Myln's statement (followed by Spottiswoode) that he ruled the diocese for 40 years is not to be taken as strictly accurate.

On 28 Aug. 1419 a declaration is made by Elizabeth le Grant, lady of Stratherrick, before Robert, bishop of Dunkeld (*Chiefs of Grant*, iii. 16).

We find a bishop of Dunkeld (unnamed) in Parliament in 1429-30 (A.P. ii. 28). He had been an auditor, 1424 (*ib.* 5).

In 1431 the abbot of Iona promises obedience to his ordinary Robert de Cardeny, bishop of Dunkeld (*Extr.* 233). On 4 May, 1433, he witnesses the foundation charter of the collegiate church of Methven (C.P.R. viii. 461).

Robert died suddenly at a great age at Dunkeld on 17 Jan. 1436 (Sc. xvi. 26); on 16 Jan. 1436 (Myln, 17).

The context relating to the death of the king (James I.) shows that Jan. 1436-37 is meant by Sc.

He had built the nave of Dunkeld from the foundations almost to the roof, and he was buried in a chapel (according to Myln, the chapel of St. Ninian) in the south of the nave.<sup>1</sup>

A monument said to be Cardeny's is shown at Dunkeld.

*DONALD MACNACHTANE*, dean of Dunkeld, doctor in decrees,<sup>2</sup> elected by chapter in 1437. Died while on a journey to the Apostolic See for confirmation (Myln, 17, 18). He was a nephew of his predecessor *ex sorore*, and in the time of his uncle was 'procurator et pugil ecclesiae [Dunkeldensis] in singulis litibus' (*ib.*).

to Master Robert de Cardney for the expenses of John Stewart, brother of the king, studying at Paris (E.R. iii. 347).

<sup>1</sup> [He graduated at Paris (determinant and licentiate) in 1381. In 1392 he was receiver for the English nation, and had for long been custodier of the key of the box containing the common seal of the nation (*Auct. Chart. Univ. Paris.* i. 600, 604, 664, 672).] He appears to have had a son. Patrick Cardoni, clerk of the diocese of Dunkeld, 'son of a bishop and an unmarried woman,' had been dispensed lately to be ordained to holy orders and to hold a care, and was further dispensed (21 June, 1431) to hold another benefice and exchange, etc. (C.P.R. viii. 322).

<sup>2</sup> He was dean and doctor of canon law in April, 1431 (C.P.R. viii. 368). He was also M.A. The son of an unmarried nobleman and an unmarried woman (*ib.*).

He, then dean of Dunkeld, was one of the commissioners of the king of Scotland at the Council of Basle, 1433. (The commission is printed, from a contemporary MS. in the Advocates' Library, by Joseph Robertson in S.E.S. ii. 248.)

**JAMES KENNEDY**, son of Mary, second daughter of King Robert III. by her second husband, Sir James Kennedy. Bower (Sc. xvi. 26) speaks of his mother as 'Countess of Angus,' her first husband being George Douglas, earl of Angus. He is described as canon of Dunkeld, elect, provided 1 July, 1437 (E. ii. 163). See C.P.R. viii. 653 (of same date), where he is described as a sub-deacon, elected by the chapter of Dunkeld in ignorance perhaps of the reservation of Eugenius IV., who provided him to the see. Concurrent letters as usual. His consecration may be inferred as being after 16 May, 1438; for 16 May, 1448, is in the tenth year of his consecration (R.B. 118). But this does not agree with Scone (187), where 10 April, 1456, is in the nineteenth year of his consecration. The error is, I think, in the Scone charter, for Keith refers to the Clackmannan writs for 7 July, 1458, being in the twenty-first year of his consecration. 29 Dec. 1449 is in the twelfth year of his consecration; charter of the collegiate church of Crichton (*Colleg. Churches of Midlothian*, 312). I would place his consecration between 16 May and 7 July 1438. On 23 Sept. 1439 Eugenius IV. grants *proprio motu* to James, bishop of Dunkeld, nephew of the late James, king of the Scots, the *commendam* for life of Scone (C.P.R. viii. 270). He had difficulties in obtaining possession (*ib.*).

Kennedy was postulated to St. Andrews (which see) 22 April, 1440, and was translated 28 May, 1440 (E. ii. 99), and made payment at the Roman court, 8 June, 1440 (B. i. 123). Myln (18) and Sc. (xvi. 26) concur in making him two years at Dunkeld. Myln's language, 'confirmatus stetit episcopus ad duos annos,' might lead one to suppose that he was not consecrated while at Dunkeld, but we have seen that he had been consecrated while in possession of that see.

As bishop of Dunkeld he was attending the Council of Florence when he was translated.

In the Appendix 'Papal' bishops during the Schism are noticed; [and the position of Thomas de Levinstone is discussed].

*ALEXANDER DE LAWEDRE* (Laudyr, Lauedyr, Lauder), rector of Ratho, in the diocese of St. Andrews, uterine brother of William de Lawedre, bishop of Glasgow, was elected in May, 1440 (*Extr.* 239), but appointed by papal provision at request of the king (Sc. xvi. 26). Provided 6 June, 1440 (E. ii. 163). See C.P.R. viii. 265. He is designated archdeacon of Dunkeld (*ib.*). He died, unconsecrated, at Edinburgh, on 11th Oct. 1440, and was buried in the church of Lauder with his forefathers (Sc. *ib.*: Myln, 19).

**JAMES BRUCE** (Brewhous, *Extr.* 239), rector of Kilmany (in Fife), to which he was provided by the pope 29 Aug. 1437 (C.P.R. viii. 667). Jacobus de Brois, archdeacon of Dunkeld, provided 6 Feb. 1440-1 (E. ii. 163).

He is said to have been the son of a younger son of Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan (see Crawfurd's *Officers of State*, 33).

On the death of Lawedre (see above) he was elected and consecrated at Dunfermline on the 4th day of February, the first Sunday in Lent, 1441, according to Bower (Sc. xvi. 26). Bower means 1441-2, in which year the 4th of February fell on Sunday; but he is in error in making it the first Sunday in Lent, it being really Sexagesima in that year. Myln is also astray in saying that he was consecrated on Septuagesima. We find James, bishop of Dunkeld, attesting on 21st January, 1442-3 (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* x. App. i. p. 63).

He celebrated his first mass *festive* at Dunkeld on the feast of St. Adamnan (23 Sept.), 'anno sequenti,' *i.e.* 1442 (Sc. *ib.*). He is chancellor 27 Jan. 1444-5 (Inchaffray, 143).

He died at Edinburgh in 1447, chancellor of the kingdom (Sc. *ib.*), and was buried at Dunfermline in St. Mary's Chapel (*Book of Pluscarden*, i. 381).

According to Myln he had been translated to Glasgow. This statement is borne out by the Papal Records, where we find him provided to Glasgow, 3 Feb. 1446-7 (E. ii. 177). He must have died soon after, for Turnbull is provided to Glasgow 27 Oct. in the same year (*ib.*).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Of record evidence we may notice, for 1442-3, A.P. ii. 58; for 1444, Dunfermline, 365; for 1445 (3 July) A.P. ii. 59. [He was auditor in exchequer as bishop of Dunkeld 1441, 1442, and 1444;

His benefactions to Dunkeld Cathedral will be found noticed in Myln.

**WILLIAM TURNBULL** (Trumbull), archdeacon of Lothian, doctor of decrees, keeper of the privy seal. Provided 10 Feb. 1446-7 (E. ii. 163).

On 27 March, 1447, he is elect of Dunkeld, and offers by his proctor, Simon de Dalglesch, of Scotland, 450 gold florins (*Obligaz.* B. 128).

He was translated to Glasgow before the close of the year, on the death of Bruce (see above). Glasgow was vacant 4 Oct. 1447 (R.G. 366). He was 'elect of Glasgow' 13 Nov. 1447 (B. 154),<sup>1</sup> and was consecrated after 1 Dec. 1447, for 1 Dec. 1453, is in 'anno sexto consecrationis nostrae' (R.G. 399). Keith (without giving his authority) says he was consecrated in [April] 1448 (p. 251). His consecration was before 16 June, 1448, for 16 June, 1450, is in the third year of his consecration (R.G. 379).

**JOHN RAULSTON** (Railstoun, Raliston), secretary of the king (Sc. xvi. 26), dean of Dunkeld, licentiate of decrees of the University of St. Andrews. Appointed at request of the king. Provided 27 Oct. 1447, the same day on which Turnbull was translated to Glasgow (E. ii. 163).

On 13 Nov. 1447, Robert, bishop of Dunblane, proctor of John, elect of Dunkeld, offers 450 gold florins (*Obligaz.* B. 129). This is the same day on which Turnbull made his payment for Glasgow.

According to a charter in possession of the Earl of Wemyss, seen by Crawfurd (*Officers of State*, p. 359), he was consecrated as bishop of Dunkeld and chancellor 1445 ; as bishop of Glasgow and chancellor 19 June, 1447 (E.R. vol. v.). He appears as chancellor 7 Sept. 1444 (R.M.S. ii. 273).]

<sup>1</sup> Yet he probably was not admitted to the temporality for some time, for the reverend father in Christ, William, bishop of Dunkeld, keeper of our privy seal, witnesses a charter 3 Jan. 1447 (*i.e.* 1447-8) of James II. (with great seal : not in the R.M.S.) 'to our beloved and faithful John de Lindsay, brother german of our beloved clerk Master James de Lindsay de Cowantofie.' Printed in closed record Appendix of Documents in heirs of the late Sir Charles M. Lockhart *v.* The Officers of State and Sir Charles M. Lockhart, Bart.

on 4 April, 1448. The day fell on Thursday, and as Sunday was the canonical day for the consecration of bishops the statement needs examination.<sup>1</sup> John, bishop of Dunkeld, keeper of our privy seal and our secretary, 20 April, 1448 (Wemyss, ii. 72). There is a letter of Nicholas V., dated 6 Aug. 1448, stating that John, bishop of Dunkeld, had represented to him, the pope, that while, in the letters of papal provision and the concurrent letters, he had been styled doctor of decrees, he was in reality at the time only a licentiate in decrees. The pope confirms all the contents of the letters as though the error had not occurred, and confers on John all the dignities and *insignia* which he would have had if he were a doctor of the University of St. Andrews (T. No. 753).

On 13 Aug. Pope Nicholas V. confirms the erection of four chaplaincies in the cathedral of Dunkeld made by his predecessor, James, bishop of Dunkeld 'of good memory,' that is James Bruce (T. No. 754). John is bishop of Dunkeld 22 Jan. 1449-50 (A.P. ii. 61).

Myln must be wrong when he places his death in 1450, for he received a safe conduct from Henry VI. on July 5, 1451 (Fæd. xi. 286). He either died or resigned at latest early in 1452. (See next entry.) He was buried in his cathedral, north of the great altar.<sup>2</sup>

**THOMAS LAWDER** (Lauder, Lawdre), master of the Hospital of Soltre, and preceptor of King James II.<sup>3</sup> Provided 28 April,

<sup>1</sup> [Possibly the charter of 20 April, 1448, quoted in text, is that referred to by Crawfurd; who does not say consecrated 'on 4 April' but 'by 4 April.']

<sup>2</sup> I can find no ecclesiastical notice of 'Henry Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld,' who Father Hay, in his *Genealogy of the Sinclairs of Roslin* (p. 69), says was a son of the seventh earl of Douglas by Beatrice Sinclair. There must, I think, be an error here. [The Scots Peerage (iii. 175) mentions Henry, son of James, seventh earl of Douglas, and suggests his identity with a son destined for the church, who died aged fifteen.]

<sup>3</sup> In 1444 Master Thomas de Lawdre, canon of Aberdeen and master of the Hospital of Soltre, founded a chaplainry in St. Giles', Edinburgh (D. Laing's *Reg. Cart. Eccl. S. Ægidii*, pp. 88-9). See also another charter of Thomas, bishop of Dunkeld, not long before his death, on the same subject, p. 141.

1452. He is described in the Papal Records as suffering from defect of birth (E. ii. 163) which falls in with his legitimation in 1473 (see below).<sup>1</sup>

On 5 May, 1452, Thomas, elect of Dunkeld, offered by the hand of his proctor, Ninian Spot, priest of the diocese of St. Andrews, 450 gold florins (*Obligaz. B.* 129). On 22 June, 1452, Master Thomas Lawdre, elect to the bishopric, having obtained confirmation from the Apostolic See, and having been admitted to the Spirituality, is admitted by King James II. to the Temporality (R.M.S. ii. No. 578). Thomas was bishop of Dunkeld, 16 Oct. 1455 (R.M. 229) 7 Feb. 1456-7 (Scone, 190), 7 March, 1460-61 (*Collections for Aberdeen and Banff*, Spalding Club, 284), and 25 March, 1462 (*Collegiate Churches of Midlothian*, pp. 63-70).

Myln (p. 21) says he was a 'sexagenarian' when the king urged his appointment on the chapter of Dunkeld, and that on account of his age the chapter at first refused him. Twenty-two years after his succession to the see he sought assistance, and resigned in favour of James Levington, on the conditions that he was to retain episcopal dignity, and to enjoy the revenues of that part of the diocese of Dunkeld which lay south of the Forth.<sup>2</sup> He survived the appointment of his successor, and was one of his consecrators (see next entry).

There is a confirmation of a charter of Thomas, formerly bishop of Dunkeld, and now bishop in the universal church, made 13 March, 1480-1 (R.M.S. ii. No. 1469). He obtained a letter of legitimation, Feb. 1472-3 (R.M.S. ii. No. 1107).

He died 4 Nov. 1481 (Myln, p. 25).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [He graduated at Paris, determinant 1413, licentiate 1414. In 1417 he petitioned the English nation to take up his cause against a certain French master who had had him imprisoned (*Auct. Chart. Univ. Paris.* ii. 168, 176, 226). He was the son of an unmarried nobleman and an unmarried woman, and nephew of William Lauder, bishop of Glasgow (C.P.R. vii. 248; viii. 407 : where other benefices held by him are mentioned).]

<sup>2</sup> [He was papally provided to a pension of 600 florins of gold on the revenues of the see (Roman Transcripts in Public Record Office).]

<sup>3</sup> Much that is interesting as to Lawder's episcopate will be found in Myln. The state of the Highlands in the neighbourhood

Myln may probably be trusted about this bishop, 'cujus tempore vivebat Alexander Millus, canonicus, qui illius ecclesiae acta luculento et erudito stylo conscripsit' (Dempster, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 441).

[Arms: a griffin segreant.]

**JAMES LEVINGSTON** (Levingstone, Levington), dean of Dunkeld, rector of the churches of Forteviot and Weme (K.).<sup>1</sup>

According to K. he was son 'of the lord of Salcotes' (Saltcoats in East Lothian). Provided 2 Oct. 1475 (E. ii. 163).

According to Myln (24) his appointment was opposed at Rome by Thomas Spens, bishop of Aberdeen, who desired to be translated to Dunkeld, but on David Meldrum, canon and official of Dunkeld, and David Colden, succentor of Dunkeld, resorting to the Roman Court, the matter was arranged, and Levingston provided to the see.

He was consecrated in Dunkeld Cathedral by James Hepburn, bishop of Dunblane, John Balfour, bishop of Brechin, and Thomas Lawder [late of Dunkeld], 'bishop of the universal church' (Myln, 26). On the Sunday next after the Nativity

of his cathedral was so disturbed that at first he was compelled (*propter roboram Catheranorum contra ecclesiasticos factam*) to hold his synods at Tullilum (an outlying part of his diocese, which had many insulated spots both north and south of the Forth) a short distance to the south [or rather to the west] of Perth. And, indeed, it would seem from the language of Myln that this practice had existed before Lawder's time. But things soon became better, and he appears to have transferred his synods to the chapter-house which he had built at Dunkeld. He obtained from James II. the incorporation of all his church-lands north of the Forth into one barony, called the barony of Dunkeld, bound to give one suit at the king's court at Perth. Similarly the lands of Cramond, Abercorn, Aberlady, Preston, and Bonkill, south of the Forth, were formed into the barony of Aberlady, bound to render one suit at the king's court at Edinburgh. His gifts of valuable copes, vestments, and silver *ornamenta* to the cathedral are also recounted. And notices will be found of his church-building and bridge-building.

<sup>1</sup> [Also vicar of Innerleithen (Roman Transcripts in Public Record Office).]

of St. John the Baptist (Myln, 26). That Sunday in 1476 fell on 30th June.<sup>1</sup>

We find 'James, bishop of Dunkeld,' witnessing a royal charter at Edinburgh, 15th July, 1476 (R.G. ii. 432). In B. (129) we find that *William*, bishop of Dunkeld, paid 482*1* (sic) gold florins, 21 shillings and 2 pence, on 17 Aug. 1476 (*Quietanze*). I can only suppose *William* is an error for *James*. There may be an error also in the amount paid, which seems quite inordinately large. He is a witness 26 Oct. 1481 (*Laing Charters*, No. 184), 4 Aug. and 16 Nov. 1482 (*Charters of the City of Edinburgh*, 147, 171).

He died at Edinburgh on the feast of St. Augustine of Hippo (28 Aug.), 1483, and was buried in Inchcolm in the Forth (Myln, 26).

[Arms : A bend with a wolf head erased contourné in sinister chief (Macdonald, *Armorial Seals*, No. 1733).]

*ALEXANDER INGLIS* (Ynglis, English).

Dean of Dunkeld, and archdeacon of St. Andrews, licentiate in Decrees, clerk of the Rolls, the Register, and the King's Council.<sup>2</sup>

Elected, probably almost immediately after the death of Levingston, by the chapter, on the nomination of James III. On 17 Sept. 1483 Master Alex. Inglis, 'decretorum doctor,' archdeacon of St. Andrews, dean of Dunkeld, and *elect* of the same, founds his anniversary in the church of the Preaching Friars, Edinburgh. His parents were named George and Margaret. The deed is witnessed by a Master Oswald Inglis and Sir George Inglis (chaplain). His mother was alive at the execution of the deed (*Laing Charters*, No. 191). He was elected therefore less than one month after the death of Levingston. But the election failed to secure the confirmation of the pope, for the reasons assigned in the next entry.

<sup>1</sup> One is disposed to inquire why Myln did not say the morrow of St. Peter. [28 Sept. 1477 is in the second year of Bishop James' consecration (*Coupar Charters*, *penes* Earl of Moray).]

<sup>2</sup> A reference to B.C. iv. shows how very frequently he had been employed in affairs of State from 1473 to the time of his election, and thence onward to 1493.

‘Alexander English, electus Dunkeld,’ obtained a safe-conduct from Richard III. of England in Nov. 1483 (*Fœd.* xii. 207), and another safe-conduct in Nov. 1484 (*ib.* xii. 251).<sup>1</sup> It was, no doubt, Inglis who sat in Parliament as ‘the elect of Dunkeld’ on 18 May, 1484, on 22 March, 1484-5, and on 10 May, 1485 (A.P. ii. 166, 167, 168), the king not as yet recognising Browne, provided against his wish. Similarly ‘the elect of Dunkeld’ is one of the Lords Auditors in Feb. 1483-4 (*Act. Audit.* 127\*, 136\*). And he is named ‘Alexander, elect of Dunkeld and archdeacon of St. Andrews,’ 22 May, 1483, when he recovers (before the Lords Auditors) a silver chalice which had been wrongously spoiled out of the kirk of Kynneff (*Act. Audit.* 141\*). Indeed, on 26 May, 1485, parliament directed the king’s commissioners to represent to the pope how the king had ‘divers tymes writin and maid supplicacioun bath to our haly fader and his predecessouris for the promocioun of his tender clerk & counsalour maister Alex Inglis dene and elect of the bischoprik of Dunkeld to the bischopric of the samyn, & do all their diligence possible for his said promocioun, and that thai sal schew & declare determytly to our said haly fader that our soveran lord wil not suffre maister George Broun nor nane utheris that has presumyt to be promovit to the said bischopric of Dunkeld contrar our soveran lordis mind, will and special writing to have ony possessioun of the samyn’ (A.P. ii. 171).<sup>2</sup>

[Arms: a lion rampant with three stars in chief. (Macdonald, *Armorial Seals*, No. 1413).]

**GEORGE BROWNE**, chancellor of the cathedral of Aberdeen and rector of Tyningham (in the county of Haddington).<sup>3</sup> Browne had been sent to Rome as ‘orator regis’ to press the

<sup>1</sup> [Apparently the safe-conduct of 1484 is only a misdated duplicate of that of 1483; see *Rot. Scot.* ii. 461.]

<sup>2</sup> There is mentioned by Keith a Robert, bishop of Dunkeld, witnessing a charter on 19 May, 1485. He refers to the Mar charters. All that can be said is that this must be an error on someone’s part.

<sup>3</sup> [His *obligavit* for Tyningham is dated 30 June, 1478 (Roman Transcripts, Public Record Office). He is there styled clerk of Brechin diocese.]

claims of George Carmichael to the see of Glasgow. At Rome he became well acquainted with some of the cardinals, and particularly intimate with Roderick Borgia, bishop of Porto, and vice-chancellor, who afterwards became pope under the title of Alexander VI. By the influence of Borgia, according to Myln (p. 28), the election of Inglis, though warmly supported by the king, was rejected, and Browne appointed to the vacant see.

Provided 22 Oct. 1483 (E. ii. 163).

Myln says he was consecrated in 1484 in the church of St. James of the Spaniards at Rome by Alfontius, episc. Civitaten., Sanctus, Oloren., and Peter, Mastaurien. Brady (p. xxii), from *Formatari in Archivio di Stato Romano*, gives as follows: 'G. elect of Dunkeld consecrated on Sunday 13 June, 1484,<sup>1</sup> on the mandate of Sixtus IV. by Alesius "episcopus Civitaten." assisted by Sancius "episcopus Oleren." and Peter "episcopus Nassarien."<sup>2</sup>

The king expostulated with the pope and the college of cardinals, pointed out that according to the constitutions of the Scottish Parliament one promoted in this way was reckoned a rebel and traitor, and repeatedly pressed the pope to withdraw the promotion of Browne. On 26 May, 1485, Parliament supplicated the pope on behalf of Alexander Inglis, dean and elect of Dunkeld, and begged that he would 'retrete and reduce the pretendit promotion of Master George Broun' (A.P. ii. 171). But through the influence of Borgia the pope remained firm. In the meantime in Scotland Robert Lawder, lord of the Bass, commonly called 'Robert with the borit quhyngar,' exerted himself with the king on behalf of Browne, and by threats and persuasions, and a payment of money (about which Myln relates an amusing story) induced the king to condone the offence of

<sup>1</sup> The 13th June, 1484, did fall on Sunday.

<sup>2</sup> I venture to identify the principal consecrator of Browne, as Alphonsus de Paradnies, 'episc. Civitaten.' (i.e. bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo), who was 'provisor' of the Hospital of Spaniards at Rome, and died at Rome, aged ninety, 15 Oct. 1485: and the second as Sancius de Casanova, bishop of Oleron in France. The third at present baffles me. There is a Peter, bishop of Nazareth (*in partibus*), a suffragan of Caesarea, but his provision is not till 1486 (E. ii. 221).

Browne, and to receive him. Browne, evidently fearing the wrath of the king, had, on his return, first landed at Inchcolm, the monastery in the island in the Forth, which was part of his own diocese, and in which so many of his predecessors had been interred. He was in Parliament 13 Oct. 1487 (A.P. ii. 175).

Browne's episcopate is remarkable from the ecclesiastical side for his having appointed first one, and afterwards four rural deans, functionaries who had been apparently hitherto unknown in the diocese of Dunkeld. Of the districts assigned to these an account will be found in Myln, who was himself appointed rural dean of Angus, and who is naturally very full of the events of this bishop's episcopate.

We find George bishop of Dunkeld 22 May, 1506 (*Laing Charters*, 260) : 5 Sept. 1510 (*ib.* 277) : 5 Sept. 1512 (*ib.* 287).<sup>1</sup> He was afflicted with the stone, and the defeat at Flodden told upon his spirits. He died 14 Jan. 1514, *i.e.* 1514-5, in his 76th year (Myln, 54). Gavin Douglas writing to Wallyamson from Perth 18 Jan. 1514-5 says the bishop of Dunkeld died 'this Monday 15 Jan.' (*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* ii. No. 44).<sup>2</sup>

Three days after Browne's death, James V. and Queen Margaret on 17 Jan. 1514-5 write to the pope nominating Gavin Douglas to the see of Dunkeld vacant by the death of Browne (*Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic: Henry VIII.* vol. ii. part i. No. 31).

Mr. A. H. Millar has reminded me that the bishop was a son of George Browne, treasurer of Dundee, and has pointed to the bishop's founding in the parish church of Dundee an altar dedicated to Saint Mary and the Three Kings of Cologne (see R.M.S. iii. No. 157). Browne's parentage is noted by K. [or rather by Russel. The bishop's brother Richard had from him a feu-charter of Easter Fordell and others in 1493 (R.M.S. ii. 2175), and was ancestor of the Browns of Fordell].

[Arms : A chevron between three fleurs-de-lys.]

<sup>1</sup> Beside the references in K. we find him bishop of Dunkeld in 1488 (Paisley, 85, 264) ; in 1489-90 (R.G. ii. 469) ; and at Dundee 20 Sept. 1492 (Wemyss Book, ii. 272).

<sup>2</sup> [Myln also says *die Lunæ* ; and in that year the 15 Jan. was a Monday.]

*ANDREW STEWART.* Brother of John 2nd earl of Atholl. See A. F. Steuart's article on the earls of Atholl in Sir J. Balfour Paul's *Scots Peerage*, i. 442.

Myln (pp. 70-71) gives an ugly account of the pressure put upon the canons of Dunkeld by the earl of Atholl to secure the see for his brother. While the aged Bishop Browne was *in extremis*, a report went out that he was dead, whereupon the earl appeared at Dunkeld and asked that his brother Andrew, prebendary of Crage (Cragyne) should be elected to the see. Some of the canons being connected with him by blood, and others fearing the loss of their possessions, assented to his wishes. As soon as the funeral of Browne was over the canons convened in chapter, and fixed the day for the election, the absent canons being cited by public proclamation. When the day arrived the chapter with one consent postulated Andrew Stewart, who was then not even a subdeacon.<sup>1</sup> A message was sent to John, duke of Albany, governor of the kingdom and guardian of the king, who then happened to be in France. He refused to have anything to do with the disposal of bishoprics till he had returned to the country. He landed 16 May, 1515. And shortly after the queen, on the advice of the lords of the council, gave the consent on the part of the king. But the pope advanced another (see next entry). Stewart was provided by the pope to Caithness in Dec. 1517 (B. 149).

[Arms, see under Caithness.]

**GAVIN (GAWIN) DOUGLAS**, provost of the Collegiate Church of St. Giles, Edinburgh, and rector of Hauch (*i.e.* Prestonkirk), and parson of Linton. Hauch has been by some incorrectly understood as Hawick. Linton was assigned at an early date as a prebendal church of the collegiate church of Dunbar. He was also postulate of Arbroath, to which abbey he had been nominated shortly before 13 Nov. 1513 (*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* i. No. 4556). At an early date he had been granted the teinds of Monymusk (see Small's *Poetical Works of Gavin Douglas*, I. vi.), and he appears to have once

<sup>1</sup> In James V.'s letter (28 Sept. 1516) to Leo X. he describes Stewart as 'ecclesiae, licet non in sacris, canonicum' (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 222).

held the parish of Glenquhom (Glenholm in Peeblesshire), [presented 6 May, 1498 : R.S.S. i. 199]. He was, 'referente reverendissimo Cardinale de Medicis,' advanced to the see by Leo X. (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 222). He was the third and youngest son of Archibald, fifth earl of Angus. It was believed at the time that English influence obtained his promotion from the pope (Myln). Queen Margaret supported his claims with her brother Henry VIII.;<sup>1</sup> and in a letter of Gavin Douglas himself (dated Perth, 21 Jan. 1514-5—a week after Browne's death) to Adam Williamson, he writes, 'Foryet not to solyst and convoy weyll my promotion to Dunkelden, as ye luf me, for I haf gevyn the money quhar ye bad me' (Pinkerton, *Hist. of Scotland under the Stuarts*, ii. 464).

[He was provided to Dunkeld 25 May, 1515 (E. : *Regesta Leo. X. Hergenröther*, No. 15605).]

On 29 June, 1515, Gavin, elect of Dunkeld, paid at Rome, by the hands of his proctor, 450 gold florins (*Obligaz. B.* 129).

After the return of the governor, Gavin Douglas was judged as having infringed the statutes of the realm, and condemned to imprisonment in the sea-tower in custody of John Hepburne, vicar-general of St. Andrews, *sede vacante*, 16 July, 1515 (*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* ii. No. 779). It was about a year before he was released. He was admitted to the temporalities 16 Sept. 1516 (R.S.S. i. 2807). The pope had frequently pleaded for his release : see letter of 28 Sept. 1516 (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 222).

On 3 May, 1517, Gawane, bishop of Dunkeld, is 'passing furth of the realme' and receives a protection (R.S.S. i. 2900). It looks as if he were not in the realm at 24 Oct. 1518, for a presentation is directed to Gawin 'or to his vicars general' (R.S.S. i. 3031), but on 25 May, 1519, a presentation is directed to him only (*ib.* 3038). On 19 June, 1520, a presentation is directed to him or his vicars general (*ib.* 3068).

He was soon after consecrated (according to K., who does not cite his authority) by Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow at his cathedral church. The date of the consecration I have not been able to ascertain. But in the MS. *Formulare Instrument. Ecclesiast.* in the Library of the University of St. Andrews we

<sup>1</sup> 22 Jan. 1514-5 (*Letters, etc., Henry VIII.* ii. No. 47).

find what has led Joseph Robertson (*Stat. Eccl. Scot.* i. p. cxxviii, note) to say that Gavin Douglas was consecrated at St. Andrews by the archbishop of that see, assisted by John, bishop of Brechin, and James, bishop of Dunblane, 'our suffragans.' It was a time, it must be remembered, when Archbishop Forman had been endeavouring to get the pope to restore to the province of St. Andrews the suffragan sees of Dunkeld and Dunblane. The original Bull of Leo X., which effected this restoration, is not now, apparently, extant.<sup>1</sup> But Dunblane being spoken of as a suffragan see rather points to the obligation of Douglas being consecrated by the archbishop of St. Andrews, for Dunkeld and Dunblane were [perhaps] at the same time restored to the metropolitan jurisdiction of St. Andrews.

In the *Formulare* we find a form of oath taken, or to be taken, at Dunfermline by Gavin promising obedience and fidelity to the archbishop of St. Andrews. May it not be that Douglas (who might well have disliked being consecrated by his successful rival for St. Andrews) had himself consecrated by the archbishop of Glasgow, and afterwards took the oath of fealty to St. Andrews? If the consecration were at St. Andrews it would be natural that the oath would be taken there. We await further light on the matter. It should be remembered that the *Formulare* is a book of styles; and cannot be relied on for facts. This fact has been forgotten by Small in his excellent biographical sketch of Gavin Douglas prefixed to his *Poetical Works*.

To obtain actual possession of his see was a task of much difficulty. The adherents of Andrew Stewart were in occupation of the palace and the steeple of the cathedral. And Myln gives a graphic and interesting account of the struggle, in which Douglas was at last successful, on compromising matters with Stewart, who was allowed to retain all the fruits of the bishopric which he had received, and was granted the churches of Alyth

<sup>1</sup> See *Stat. Eccl. Scot. l.c.* [Gavin Douglas' provision (see text) was accompanied by a letter directed to the archbishop of St. Andrews as metropolitan. The date of the restoration of Dunkeld to the province of St. Andrews is unknown; Dunblane was so restored by Alexander VI.; see under Dunblane.]

and Cargill on his paying to the bishop certain chalders of victual.<sup>1</sup>

He was declared a rebel by Albany 12 Dec. 1521 (*Letters, etc., Henry VIII.* iii. No. 1857) and forced to fly into England with his nephew Angus, and was in London in the end of Dec. 1521. His denunciation as a traitor was ratified under the great Seal of Scotland, 21 Feb. 1521-2: the fruits of the see sequestered; and letters were ordered to be addressed to the pope not to appoint him to St. Andrews or Arbroath (*ib.* No. 2063). He died of the plague in London in the year 1522, in Lord Dacre's house in St. Clement's Parish, between 10 Sept., when his will was executed, and 19 Sept., when it received probate. The will is printed by Small (*Poetical Works of Gavin Douglas*, I. pp. cxvii ff.). The *Black Book of Taymouth* (117) gives 9 Sept. 1522 as his obit. Polydore Vergil, the friend of Gavin, gives us the information that 'pestilentia absumptus est'; but he, curiously enough, errs in assigning his death to 1521 (*Hist. edit.* 1556, p. 53). Bishop Gavin Douglas was buried in the chapel of the Savoy on the left of Thomas Halsey, bishop of Leighlin. Halsey's tomb bore the inscription (*post alia*), 'Cui laevus conditur Gavanus Dowglas, natione Scotus, Dunkeldensis Praesul, patria sua exsul, Anno Christi 1522.'<sup>2</sup>

[Arms—Quarterly: 1st, a lion rampant; 2nd, a lion rampant debruised by a ribbon; 3rd, five piles in point; 4th, a fess

<sup>1</sup> See also *Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 222. The active part taken by Douglas in the politics of the time must be studied in the records of the civil history of Scotland. His contributions to the literature of the country in his rendering of the *Æneid* of Virgil are well known.

<sup>2</sup> On 5 Aug. 1514, the queen-regent wrote to Leo X. requesting that the monastery of Arbroath (vacant by the death of the young archbishop of St. Andrews at Flodden) should be given to Gavin Douglas (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 199), and sought for his appointment to the primacy. See under St. Andrews.

Gavin Douglas had a natural daughter, maternal ancestor of the house of Sempill of Foulwood. See Pinkerton's *History of Scotland from the Accession of the House of Stuart to that of Mary*, 1797, vol. ii. p. 198, note.

chequy surmounted of a bend charged with three buckles. *Sortout*, a heart, on a chief three stars (Macdonald, *Armorial Seals*, No. 702).]

**ROBERT COCKBURN**, bishop of Ross. On 27 April,<sup>1</sup> 1524, the pope translated Robert, bishop of Ross, to Dunkeld, 'now for two years void by the death of Gavin (Galvini).' Revenues, 3000 florins; tax, 350 florins (*Barberini*). On 27 May, 1524, Cockburn's proctor offered 450 gold florins. The Bulls are dated 27 April, 1524 (B. 129-30). He witnesses as 'bishop of Dunkeld' on 6 May, 1524 (R.M.S. iii. No. 262), obviously before the Bulls had reached Scotland. While Robert was in England, together with Gilbert, earl of Cassillis, and Alexander Myln (author of the *Vitae Dunkeldensium Episcoporum*), now abbot of Cambuskenneth, as ambassadors to obtain a truce, which was ratified 29 Nov. 1524 (*Fæd. xiv. 28*), he distinguished himself by the eloquence and elegance of his Latin speech, which was much admired by the English (Lesley, *De Reb. Gest. 413*). While he was in England on this occasion the Bulls of his appointment reached Scotland. On 14 Sept. 1524, Robert was admitted to the Temporality of Dunkeld (R.S.S. i. 3286). James V. writes on 15 Sept. 1524 to the pope (Clement VII.) complaining that he heard that the bishop of Dunkeld had granted pensions from the fruits of the see, and among them a pension to James Creichton, a Dominican friar, who was by his vows disqualified from holding it (T. No. 954).

We find the bishop of Dunkeld in Parliament on 16 Nov. 1524 and 6 July to 3 Aug. 1525 (A.P. ii. 285, 291-7). He was alive 4 Jan. 1525-6 (see charter cited in Macdonald's *Armorial Seals*, No. 453). His death can be approximately dated by the next entry. I know no reason to question the correctness of an entry in the Chronicle of James MacGregor, notary public and dean of Lismore (who is said to have died about 1542), where it is said that Robert Cokburne died 12 April, 1526, at Dunkeld in his palace and was buried in the choir of Dunkeld. The Chronicle is printed in *Archæologia Scotica*, iii. 318-328. I have no doubt the entry in *Black Book*

<sup>1</sup>['Die Mercurii 27 Aprilis' (MS. in Vatican Archives; so E.). The 27 April, 1524, was a Wednesday. B. reads 24 April.]

of Taymouth (120) suffers from error of transcription: (12 April) M.vc. xxxj. should read M.vc. xxvj.

[Arms, three cocks (Macdonald, *Armorial Seals*, No. 453).]

**GEORGE CRICHTON**, abbot of Holyrood,<sup>1</sup> to which he had been provided as long before as 3 June, 1500, by Alexander VI. (*Vatic.* B. 182). He was keeper of the Privy Seal 1515-1528. On 21 June, 1526, the king, with consent of Parliament, ratifies letters of commendation to the pope for the promotion of George to Dunkeld (A.P. ii. 305). These could not have reached the pope, when on 25 June, 1526, the pope provides George, abbot of the monastery of Holyrood, near Edinburgh, to the church of Dunkeld in Scotland, void by the death of Robert. He is granted leave to celebrate 'secundum usum ipsius ecclesiae,' and to wear a rochet, and other ornaments, after the manner of bishops who are not regulars. He is given leave to retain the house of the manor which he has in the barony of 'Brouken' (? Broughton) of the value of 35 pounds sterling, in lieu of an annual pension on resigning the monastery. (*Barberini* and *Chigi*. B. 130.)

On 17 July, 1526, Franciscus Butrius, merchant of Florence, offers, in the name of 'George, elect of Dunkeld,' 450 gold florins. (*Obligaz.* B. 130.)

In Parliament in 1526, 1527, 1528, 1531, 1532 (A.P. ii. 308-34). He concurred in the sentence on Patrick Hamilton 29 Feb. 1527-8 (Keith's *History*, i. 331). For an account of a hospital (two chaplains and seven bedesmen) dedicated to St. Thomas, founded (1541) by Bishop Crichton, near the Watergate of Canongate, Edinburgh, see Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, 154-5.

In Nov. 1543, he describes himself as of great age, and says he 'may nocht gudlie travell to vesy his cathedrale kirk' (*Acts and Decrees*, i. 521). He must have been a very aged man, for it seems that he had taken his master's degree at St. Andrews in 1479 (see D. Laing, *Works of John Knox*, i. 105, note). We find him witnessing 9 Dec. 1543 (R.M.S. iii. No. 2973).

George Crichton died in January (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* ii. 185);

<sup>1</sup>[Son of David and brother of Sir Patrick Crichton of Cranston-Riddell.]

before 20 Jan. 1543-4, when a gift was made of the temporality of the see to the abbot of Paisley (R.S.S. xviii. 24). The reference in Keith to 'State Letters' (by which he must have meant *Epistolae Regum Scotorum* ii. 183-4) proves that Crichton died, not *on* (as K.) but *before* 24 Jan. 1543-4, on which day Queen Mary wrote to Paul III. announcing the death of George, bishop of Dunkeld, and designating for the vacant see the abbot of Paisley, brother of James, earl of Arran, governor of the kingdom. She further prayed that Hamilton, the abbot, might retain the abbey of Paisley, and that from the fruits of the see one thousand pounds Scots might be reserved to Alexander Campbell, brother of the earl of Argyll: and begs that if any grant had *per incuriam* been made to Robert Crichton (see below) the pope would declare it null. It is evident that Crichton had been dealing at Rome for the see of Dunkeld before the death of his uncle George. In another letter of 24 Jan. 1543-4 the queen writing to Rudolph 'Cardinalis Carpensis' urging as above further asks that the abbot of Paisley when promoted to Dunkeld might be dispensed from wearing the Cluniac habit and wear a rochet, etc. (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* ii. 187).

[Arms, a lion rampant (Macdonald, No. 558).]

**JOHN HAMILTON**, abbot of Paisley, natural son of James, first earl of Arran.<sup>1</sup> See close of last entry.

On 17 June, 1544, James, governor of Scotland, wrote to Paul III. saying that he had written 'once and again' concerning Dunkeld, and had urged that John, abbot of Paisley, 'germanus noster,' should be appointed. He adds that 'a wicked competitor,' by 'largitione,' had caused the matter to be protracted.

<sup>1</sup> On 18 May, 1525, John *Burnet* [could this be his mother's name?], a bastard, 'sed de Regia prole natus,' was granted the *commendam* of Paisley. He was then in his fifteenth year: dispensed for defects of birth and age. *Redditus*, 1000 florins; *taxa*, 600 florins (*Barberini*. B. 206). Admitted to temporality of Paisley, about Sept. 1525 (R.S.S. i. 3353). [His Bull of provision to Paisley is engrossed in a Notarial Instrument dated 15 Sept. 1525, in possession of the Rev. A. T. Grant. He is there styled John Hamilton (not Burnet), monk of Kilwinning, and the date is given 16 Kal. June, i.e. 17 May.]

He expresses much indignation (T. No. 1067). On the 5 Dec. 1544, the queen writes to the pope on behalf of Hamilton, and begs that the revenues of the see should not be burdened with more than one pension, namely, of 1000 pounds of 'our money,' to be assigned to 'a certain noble' (not named, but see above). Before this letter can have reached the pope, he, on 17 Dec. 1544, provides to the church of Dunkeld, void by the death of 'George Chreetoun,' late bishop, John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley. Two pensions were assigned—one, of 50 gold ducats, to Robert Waucop, presbyter of the diocese of St. Andrews, professor of theology;<sup>1</sup> the other, of 1000 pounds Scots, to Alexander Capell [Campbell], clerk of the diocese of Dunkeld. A dispensation for defect of birth is granted to John, and for defect of sight to Robert. Tax, 450 florins (*Barberini. B. 130-2*).

But Hamilton's provision was met by an alleged provision, granted by apostolic authority, to Robert Chreton, 'provost of the church of Edinburgh.'<sup>2</sup> On 8 Jan. 1545-6, the question was remitted to several cardinals to deal with extra-judicially and bring about a friendly settlement (*Barberini. B. ib.*).

In the Parliament held in Aug. 1546, Hamilton sat as 'elect of Dunkeld' (A.P. iii. 468). Crichton was accused in Parliament of having invaded the queen's right of nomination, and the advocate in the queen's name pursued for the reduction of 'ane pretendit decree given be certane cardinalis deput be the Papis halyness.'

John is [still abbot of Paisley 30 July, postulate of Dunkeld 31 July,] 'elect' 21 Aug. 1546; and 'bishop' 24 Aug. 1546 (P.C.R. i. 31, 33, 38, 39). John is bishop of Dunkeld 11 Oct. 1547 (*ib. 79*; see *ib. xiv. 3*). On 28 Nov. 1547 he was, by the pope, translated to St. Andrews (B. i. 126), but does not appear to have come into actual possession for a considerable time.

<sup>1</sup> [Of this blind Robert Wauchope, archbishop of Armagh and a considerable personage in his day, there are notices in Lesley (Bann. Club edit. p. 242), and in *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* vols. xiv.-xvii.; and a short sketch of his life in Paterson's *History of the Family of Wauchope*, p. 16.]

<sup>2</sup> [E. dates this provision 17 March, 1543-4.]

On 20 March, 1546-7, the queen begs from Edward VI. a safe conduct to pass through England for John, bishop of Dunkeld, 'evil vexed with infirmity and continual sickness' (Bain's *Calendar of Scottish Papers* (1547-1563), No. 5).

The date of Hamilton's consecration may be approximately determined by a comparison of entries in the Great Seal Register (iv. 1742, 1836, 1869; and v. 812, 871, and 2292). These point to his having been consecrated between 5 Aug. 1546 and 8 Jan. 1546-7. From the same references (leaving out of consideration the second, which is obviously blundered, and the fourth, which may be blundered) we gather that his translation was between 1 April and 4 Aug. 1549. The fourth reference, if accepted, would put his translation not later than 7 April, 1549, which, however, disagrees with the other evidence.<sup>1</sup>

He is certainly only 'postulatus Dunkeldensis' on 31 July, 1546 (see above): and he is 'elect of Dunkeld' on 14 Aug. 1546 (A.P. ii. 471). The latter date still further restricts the limits between which his consecration took place.

Hamilton was translated to St. Andrews 28 Nov. 1547, according to Brady; but on this see under St. Andrews. Keith refers to a charter (Mar), in which Hamilton appears as bishop of Dunkeld as late as 14 June, 1549. Donald, abbot of Coupar, has a gift of the temporality 23 June, 1549 [which seems to imply that Hamilton had by that time been translated] (R.S.S. xxiii. 33). [Hamilton is still bishop of Dunkeld 28 May, but is archbishop 4 July (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xi. 6, pp. 23, 24). Communicated by the Rev. John Anderson.] It

<sup>1</sup> There is a charter in the Spalding Club's *Collections for Aberdeen and Banff* (386) which makes 5 Nov. 1555 in the ninth year of his translation, and of his consecration the eleventh. It is evident that whoever drafted the document has erred with regard to both translation and consecration. [The Spalding Club print is from an inaccurate copy. The original in the Slains Charter Chest is dated 4 Nov. 1557, ninth year of his translation and eleventh of his consecration. This would indicate that he was consecrated not before 5 Nov. 1546, and the Privy Council sederunts are not decisive disproof of this. In fact he is styled bishop on 16 Aug. (P.C.R. i. 35), though as above only elect on 21 Aug.]

certainly looks as though he was bishop of Dunkeld 15 Sept. 1548 (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* x. App. i. p. 27). And I have little doubt it is Hamilton's enthronement (incorrectly spoken of as consecration) which is referred to by Holcroft in his letter to Somerset 24 July, 1549: 'The busshope of Dunkeld [has gone] into St. Andros to be consecrat busshope therof, making great feastes.' (Stevenson's *Selections, . . . illustrating the reign of Queen Mary*: Maitland Club, 37.)

[Arms, see under St. Andrews.]

**ROBERT CRICHTON** (Creichtoun, Creighton, Creychtoun),<sup>1</sup> provost of the Collegiate Church of St. Giles, Edinburgh, nephew of Bishop George Crichton (K.). As early as 7 Aug. 1546, Robert Crichton was summoned before Parliament as suspected of having procured a papal decree touching the purchasing of the bishopric of Dunkeld in opposition to Hamilton (A.P. ii. 469). See last entry. On Hamilton's translation to St. Andrews an effort was made by the governor to induce the pope (Paul III.) to appoint Donald, abbot of Cupar. This Donald was Donald Campbell, fourth son of Archibald, second earl of Argyll, who is supposed to have succeeded to the abbacy in 1526.<sup>2</sup> On 26 March, 1548, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese wrote to the queen of Scots that the pope was reluctantly unable to do as the queen wishes in the matter of the appointments to Dunkeld and Glasgow (*Cal. Scottish-Papers*, 1547-1603, vol. i. p. 103). In a memorial sent 22 April, 1550, to the king of France by the queen-dowager, the governor, and others, in which Donald is described as 'uncle to the Erle of Ergile,' it was declared that the pope (Julius III.) 'postpones the said promotion [of Donald] to Dunkeld by the importune solicitation and wrong information of one Master Robert Crichton, who on his manner intends to purchase the same, but (without) any supplication or licence of my lord Governor, or any having authority for the time, to the great hurt of the Queen's Grace's privilege, which is and aye has been in use, that no promotion of prelacy pass in Rome, but

<sup>1</sup> Younger son of Sir Patrick Crichton of Cranston-Riddell.

<sup>2</sup> Certainly the king's letters of commendation to the pope on his behalf were ratified in Parliament 14 June, 1526 (A.P. ii. p. 302).

(without) the prince's supplication therefor.' The memorial then begs the king of France 'to write ryght effectuouslie' to the pope, the cardinals, and the French ambassador at Rome to preserve the queen's privilege (P.C.R. vol. i. p. 91 : the document is printed in the appendix to Bishop Keith's *History of the Affairs of Church and State*, vol. i. pp. 440-448, Spottiswoode Society). See also *Reg. of Cupar Abbey*, i. 106.

The matter seems to have been long under consideration at Rome, for on 2 Dec. 1552 we find a record (wrongly supposed by Brady to refer to the dispute between Hamilton and Crichton) as follows : 'Reverendissimus D. Petrus, tituli Sanctae Balbinae presbyter cardinalis, Pachecus, retulit causam Dunkelden. et fuit remissum negotium ad Reverendissimos Dominos de signatura gratiae Suae Sanctitatis, ut viderent et referrent' (Barberini. B. 132). The see is still vacant on 26 Jan. 1551-2 (R.S.S. xxiv. f. 118). Dr. Maitland Thomson has been so good as to furnish me with the following note. 'I find in R.S.S. xxvi. 35-6, Letters from the Estates of Scotland to the Pope and to the College of Cardinals dated 14 Kal. Oct. (i.e. 18 Sept.) 1553, complaining that Robert Crichton had not only solicited provision to the see of Dunkeld without licence, but had raised an action in the Roman Court against Donald, abbot of Cupar, the queen's nominee, for the fruits of the see, the fact being that neither party had obtained possession and that the matter was pending before the Court of Session. On 12 April, 1554, Robert, bishop of Dunkeld, is one of the magnates who signs a bond to the duke of Chatelherault (A.P. ii. 603) and on 1 May, 1554, Mr. Alex. Campbell is presented to the Provostry of St. Giles vacant by resignation of Robert, bishop of Dunkeld (R.S.S. xxvii. 66).'

There is no record in the documents printed by Brady of the appointment of Crichton. On 22 Dec. 1561 Robert, bishop of Dunkeld (with John, archbishop of St. Andrews, Patrick, bishop of Moray, and Henry, bishop of Ross), 'offerit to the Quenis grace to be content of thre partis of the rentis of their benefices' (P.C.R. i. 193). We find him in the roll of Parliament 6 Oct. 1566 (A.P. ii. 607). He was one of the forefaulted by Act of Parliament 30 Aug. 1571, and was a prisoner in Blackness Castle in 1573. He was restored to his rents 22 Aug.

1584 (A.P. iii. 373). He grants a lease 21 Jan. 1584-5 (*Laing Charters*, No. 1092).

Crichton, the primate, the bishop of Dunblane, and the abbot of Kilwinning, were the only prelates who dissented from the Confession in the Parliament that convened 1 Aug. 1560 (Keith's *History*, iii. 4). At the request of the king the Town Council of Edinburgh gave leave for his burial in St. Giles', Edinburgh, 26 March, 1585 (see Dr. Cameron Lees' *St. Giles, Edinburgh*, p. 179), of which church he had formerly been provost. We find 'Robertus Dunkeldensis episcopus' on the roll of Parliament 31 July, 1585 (A.P. iii. 423). It seems certain that 'Robertus' is a clerical error. We find Peter Rollock appointed bishop of Dunkeld 2 April, 1585,—the see being void by the death of Robert (R.S.S. lii. fol. 66). The notice above given as to his burial points to his death being perhaps a day or two before 26 March, 1585.

A few other particulars as to Robert Crichton may be recorded. On 17 April, 1573, it was, *inter alia*, contracted between Sir William Drury, general of Queen's Elizabeth's forces, and Lord Ruthven, that when the castle of Edinburgh fell into the hands of the English, Robert, bishop of Dunkeld, with others, should be 'reserved to be justified by the laws of Scotland' (P.C.R. ii. 218). On 20 Dec. 1573 Sir Walter Ker of Cesford and another oblige themselves under a penalty of £10,000 that Robert, sometime bishop of Dunkeld, on being released from ward in Blackness shall repair to and remain in ward in Edinburgh (*ib.* 319). For these cautioners were substituted, 4 May, 1576, George, lord Seytoun, and the Master of Seytoun, and the sometime bishop was allowed to go to Seytoun or some other place belonging to the said lord or else to remain in Edinburgh (*ib.* 521). The tulchan bishop, James Paton, had been appointed to the see in 1571-2, and on 27 April, 1573, had, as 'elect,' taken the oath of the king's supremacy before the Privy Council (*ib.* 223).

On 9 Feb. 1580-1 a very touching supplication of Robert Crichton in his old age and extreme poverty was presented to the Privy Council; and the bishop in possession (Paton) was mulcted to a certain extent for Crichton's sustentation during his life-time (*ib.* iii. 356-8).

Crichton was the only bishop who had the courage to have an interview with De Gouda in 1562 (*Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots*: Scottish History Society, 122). He assisted at the baptism of the prince, afterwards James VI., according to the Roman rite, 15 Dec. 1566 (Spottiswoode, ii. 41) or 17 Dec. according to most accounts (see Sir A. H. Dunbar's *Scottish Kings*, 262 note). David Laing considers that the date was 15 Dec. (*Knox's Works*, ii. 536).

[Arms, a lion rampant. Motto, *Delectare in Domino* (Macdonald, No. 562).]

## Appendix

*Notices of the Bishops of Dunkeld appointed by the 'Popes' during the Great Schism*<sup>1</sup>

**ROBERT DE DERLING.** Robert de Deriling, bishop elect of Dunkeld, 'per amotionem Johannis ultimi episcopi ab demeritis, consecratus est Romae 30 Oct. anno secundo Pontif. Urban. VI.,' that is 30 Oct. 1379 (*Register of Alexander Neville, archbishop of York*). His consecrator was Peter, bishop of Aemonia, or Citta Nuova. Derling served as suffragan of York 1380-1384 (Bishop Stubbs, *Regist. Sacr. Anglic.* (edit. 2nd), p. 197).

**NICHOLAS DUFFIELD**, abbot of Pershore. Reference to some of his preferments to English benefices will be found in Stubbs (*l.c.*). He was suffragan of Worcester 1392-1421. He acted in the diocese of Hereford in 1404. He consecrated part of the buildings and the bells of New College, Oxford, in 1400. He held ordinations in the church of the abbey of Evesham as late as 1431. See *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham* (Rolls Series), preface, xxxvii. (Communicated by Mr. Law, Belmont, Forfar.)

**WILLIAM GUNWARDBY**, rector of Houghton Conquest 16 March, 1452; suffragan of Lincoln 1431, and of Ely 1448-1454: died 1457 (Stubbs, *l.c.*).

<sup>1</sup> See p. 45.

Fuller particulars as to these prelates have been collected by Dr. Rogers in his *Rental-Book of Cupar Angus*, pp. 66-71.

The seal of Nicholas is attached to a deed of about 1402, in the Westminster Chapter-house. It bears the legend S. NICHOLAI DEI GRA. EPI. DUNKELDEN., and is described in Laing's *Catalogue of Scottish Seals*, pp. 152-3. [Another impression, of 1408, is described in Birch's *Catalogue*, No. 15045. It has two shields of arms; the dexter shield bears, on a pale, a mitre between two uncertain charges.]

Whether **THOMAS DE LEVINSTONE**, abbot of Dunnellen, who appears with the title of bishop of Dunkeld, and had with great ability opposed Pope Eugenius IV. and promoted the election of the anti-pope, Felix V., at the Council of Basle, was appointed, about 1440, by the anti-pope, or whether, as Mr. Joseph Robertson supposes, he abandoned the falling cause of the anti-pope, and was rewarded by the pope with the title of bishop of Dunkeld (S.E.S. i. preface, p. xcix), it is somewhat difficult to decide. Against the latter supposition it may be urged that Gunwardby (the papal nominee) appears to have been acting as suffragan of Ely between 1448 and 1454; and, further, that when a vacancy occurred at Dunkeld Levinstone was not put into possession. On the other hand, if he had been appointed by the anti-pope, the fact of his not obtaining possession is at once explained. But further, we must remember that Felix V. (elected at the Council of Basle 5 Nov. 1439) was duke of Savoy; and among the parts of Christendom which recognised him as pope was Savoy. Now, on 25 May, 1447, a safe conduct was granted by Henry VI. of England 'pro Thoma de Levingston episcopo Dunkeldensi et administratore monasterii Sancti Cristofori extra muros Taurinenses, sacre theologie doctore, in regno R. Anglie ad presens existente' (*Rot. Scot.* ii. 330). Felix V. did not die till 7 Jan. 1450-1. Here, then, we have evidence that Levinstone had, in addition to his titular dignity as bishop of Dunkeld, the administration of a monastery outside the walls of Turin, in that part of Italy which recognised Felix. It seems all but certain that he owed this preferment to Felix. Eugenius IV. died 23 Feb. 1446-7, and the close of the schism was now imminent. It may well be

that Levinstone was now preparing himself for the altered state of affairs. Scotland, his own country, had several years previously abandoned the cause of the anti-popes.

It is with hesitation that one differs from the opinion of so able and accurate a student of Scottish ecclesiastical affairs as Mr. Joseph Robertson, but one has the satisfaction of knowing that the view here contended for is that accepted by Dr. Grub (*Eccl. Hist.* i. pp. 379-380).

Pope Nicholas V. succeeded Eugenius in 1447, and his policy was one of conciliation towards the former followers of the anti-pope. He granted to Thomas de Levinstone the parish church of Corinsinule (Cairnsmull) or Kirkinner in the diocese of Galloway, which Dr. Joseph Robertson describes as the richest parish church in the diocese (*Stat. Eccl. Scot.* i. p. xcix) : see T. No. 789. For his other numerous preferments at home and abroad see Robertson (*l.c.*).

Levinstone never obtained possession of the see of Dunkeld, but there is no question but that he was consecrated for it, presumably by authority of Felix V. After his return to Scotland we find him styled sometimes 'bishop in the universal church'—the phrase applied to bishops not occupying a see—and sometimes 'bishop of Dunkeld in the universal church,' doubtless for the purpose of identification. The history of Levinstone's administration of the abbey of Cupar does not concern us, nor do the varying fortunes which attended him in his efforts to retain the rectory of Kirkinner. The story can be gathered by the curious from the pages of Theiner (Nos. 778, 789). He died before 10 July, 1460, when Pius II. directed Thomas Lawder, bishop of Dunkeld, to confirm the election of John Hudton as abbot of Cupar if he found the election to have been canonically celebrated (T. No. 802). This was on the petition of Hudton, who states that the vacancy had occurred through the death of Thomas, 'bishop in the universal church.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Rogers has discussed the problem relating to Thomas Levinstone in the preface to his *Rental-Book of Cupar*, pp. 48-84. [He was alive, or at all events not known at Rome to be dead, 9 April, 1460 (T. p. 454).]

## The Bishops of Aberdeen

As the attempt made here to record the succession of bishops of Aberdeen is confined to the period for which distinct, authentic, historical records can be cited, the reader is referred for the discussion of the early traditionary story of the see of Aberdeen and the supposed see at Murthlac, transferred to Aberdeen, to Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, ii. pp. 378-380) and Cosmo Innes (R.A. i. pp. ix-xix).

Though the pretended charter (R.A. i. p. 3) of King David I. to Nectan, bishop of Aberdeen, and professing to have been written 30 June in the thirteenth year of his reign—that is, in 1136—has the marks of either forgery, or, at least, rehandling by a scribe who gave to the charter a form that was unknown at the date to which he would have it assigned, yet it may well represent substantially the actual facts.

That there was a Nectan bishop of Aberdeen may be taken as certain since the discovery of the Book of Deer, where an unquestionably authentic note of a grant made to the monastery of Deer is witnessed by ‘nectan escob abb[erdeon]’ (*Book of Deer*, p. 93). The language of the Gaelic charter, as interpreted by recent scholars, is somewhat ambiguous, but possibly the deed was witnessed in the eighth year of King David (*i.e.* the year ending 22 April, 1132). And the date assigned in the manipulated or forged charter (R.A. i. 3, 4) falls in well with the general development of the episcopal system in the reign of David. There is often as much intellectual weakness in rejecting tradition as in accepting it. Before the discovery of the Irish entries in the Book of Deer, the rigour of the demand for historical evidence might have led some to consider

Nectan apocryphal. We now know that he was a real personage. It may be that evidence will hereafter be found for Beyn, Donort, and Cormach, at Murthlac, but in the meantime we hesitate to accept them.

For the dates of the early bishops, Boece's *Episcoporum Aberdonensium Vitae* is generally worse than useless, for it is commonly erroneous and misleading.

**NECTAN.** For the reference to Nectan in the Book of Deer, see above. In a [forged] charter by King William, confirming the possessions of the see to Bishop Matthew, his predecessors 'bishops of Aberdeen' are named as 'Nectanus et Edwardus' (R.A. i. 12). According to Boece (E.A.V. 7) he became bishop in 1122. But little value can be attached to the statement of this writer. According to Gavin Dunbar's *Epistolare* (R.A. ii. 246-7), in 1125 the see of Nectan was transferred by King David from Murthlac to Aberdeen.<sup>1</sup> The date of his death is not given by any authority worthy of credit. Boece (E.A.V. 8) says that he died in the first year of King Malcolm IV., the year 1152. But the first year of Malcolm began 24 May, 1153 (Dunbar's *Scottish Kings*, 71), and (see next entry) his successor Edward appears certainly not later than 1150.

The charter of David I. to Nectan, bishop of Aberdeen—'Teste meipso apud Forfar anno regni mei decimo tertio, tricesimo die mensis Junii' (R.A. i. 3-4)—must be regarded as spurious or tampered with. See Cosmo Innes in Preface to R.A. xi-xiii.

Boece (*l.c.*) states that Nectan sat for fourteen years at Murthlac and for seventeen years at Aberdeen. Little weight can be attached to the statement.

**EDWARD** (Æward, Eadward). The earliest ascertained notice is his witnessing (Dunf. 8) with Alwyn, abbot of Holyrood, who resigned in 1150 (C.S.C.). Again, he witnesses (R.P.S.A. 187) a grant of David I., together with William, abbot of Holyrood, who was elected in 1152 (*ib.*), while David died 24 May, 1153. He witnesses other charters of David (e.g. R.P.S.A. 187).

<sup>1</sup> But see above.

Edward is witness to a charter of King Malcolm with Arnald, bishop of St. Andrews, Laurence, bishop of Dunblane, and William, bishop of Moray, legate of the Apostolic See (Dunf. 24). Now, William appears as legate in 1159 or 1160, and died 24 Jan. 1161-62.

A Bull of Adrian IV. confirming landed possessions of the see of Aberdeen, and granting Edward authority to institute, at his choice, in his cathedral, 'monks or [secular] canons' is dated 10 Aug. 1157 (R.A. i. 5-7).

Edward's death is assigned to 1171 (M.: Sc. viii. 15). Boece blunders badly here.

A charter of Edward will be found in R.P.S.A. 297.

Edward is not improbably the same as the Edward who was chancellor under David, about 1140-47. Edward the chancellor appears in the foundation charter of Holyrood; Isle-of-May (1); Newbattle (No. 1); Cambusk. (No. 51); and in other charters, which are printed in Sir A. C. Lawrie's *Early Scottish Charters*. Of one of these charters (p. 140), though undated, Lawrie shows that we can assign the date as between 29 May, 1147, and 24 Aug. in the same year.

Galfrid, who is placed by K. as Edward's successor, is apocryphal. Cosmo Innes shows how the mistake arose (R.A. i. p. xx, notes).

**MATTHEW** (? Kyninmund), archdeacon of St. Andrews. 'Matthew, archdeacon of St. Andrews, is elected to the bishopric of Aberdeen, and afterwards iv. Non. April (2 April) [1172], namely *in passione Domini* is consecrated' (M.). The Sunday known as *in passione Domini* is the Sunday next but one before Easter. On investigating the date independently, we find that in 1172 Easter fell on 16 April; and therefore the Sunday *in passione Domini* on 2 April. Thus confirmation is given to the statement in the Chronicle of Melrose.<sup>1</sup>

As 'elect,' Matthew witnessed a charter of King William together with Ingelram, bishop of Glasgow. The charter is in R.M. (p. 3). [Also as 'elect,' he witnessed a charter by David, King William's brother, of the lands of Monorgan, near

<sup>1</sup> Boece (E.A.V. p. 9) here bungles the date of Matthew's succession, assigning it to 1163.

Dundee ; and the king's confirmation thereof (Adv. Lib. MS. 31. 2. 4, p. 11). See under Caithness.]

Dealing with Matthew, K. is much perplexed. His perplexities are due to his accepting as authentic the spurious letter of King Malcolm to Matthew (R.A. i. pp. 7-8) in the eleventh year of that king's reign—that is, in the year ending 23 May, 1164. Probably the blunder of Boece referred to above is to be traced to the same source.

Matthew, by command of the pope, was the principal consecrator of John the Scot, bishop of St. Andrews, at Holyrood, in 1180 (Wyntoun, vii. 8 : Sc. vi. 36).

The death of Matthew is assigned to 20 Aug. 1199 (M.). Gavin's *Epistolare* represents Matthew as 'humo commendatus,' 20 Aug. 1199 (R.A. ii. 247). According to *Extracta e variis cronicis* (83), Matthew died in 1198 ; but this cannot be correct (see footnote). Boece (but no weight need be attached to the statement) assigns Matthew's death to 1197, and says that he died in the thirty-third year of his episcopate (E.A.V. 10).<sup>1</sup> Matthew was certainly bishop of Aberdeen in the year between 24 Aug. 1198 and 24 Aug. 1199 (Arbroath i. 103).

Boece (E.A.V. 10) and Gavin's *Epistolare* (R.A. ii. 247) give the name Kyninmund (Kyninmond) to Matthew.<sup>2</sup> He founded the Hospital of St. Peter for the sick in (new) Aberdeen

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the charter testimony cited by K. and Cosmo Innes, it may be mentioned that 'M., bishop of Aberdeen,' is one of the witnesses to King William's charter to Earl David (*Chartulary of Lindores*, No. i.), which must be dated between 1178 and 1182 ; and to a charter of King William (between 1172 and 1178), printed in the *Charters of Inchaffray* (Scottish History Society), p. 153. He also witnessed the foundation charter of Lindores (No. ii.) in the year of his death, between 18 March and 10 July, 1199. [The author's note to the Lindores charter dates it between 15 Feb. 1197-8 and 10 July, 1199.] From other charter evidence he appears to have been much at the royal court.

<sup>2</sup> [Odo, Bishop Matthew's brother, had from King William a charter of Kinninmonth (Macfarlane's *Genealog. Collections*, ii. 533) ; Odo's son Adam was styled 'de Kinninmund' (R.P.S.A. 272, 273) and was presumably the ancestor of that family. But it does not appear that either Matthew or Odo bore any surname).]

(R.A. i. 11). This hospital was converted into two chaplaincies in the cathedral in 1427 (*ib.* 226, 228).

Matthew had a brother named Odo, who is styled 'dapifer' of Arnold, bishop of St. Andrews (R.P.S.A. 298, 299). Matthew was uncle (mother's brother) of John the Scot, who was elected to St. Andrews.

**JOHN**, prior of Kelso. He was 'elect,' but not consecrated, when, together with William, 'elect of Glasgow,' he witnessed a charter of King William (26 Dec.), 1199 (R.M. p. 13). For the year being 1199, see under Glasgow. He appears also as 'elect' with 'W., elect of Glasgow,' and Hugh, bishop of Moray (Arbroath i. 262).<sup>1</sup> But *Hugh*, bishop of Moray, seems to be an error. Hence we shall not be far wrong if we suppose that John was elected in 1199. He was consecrated before 6 Dec. 1201, for he appears as 'bishop of Aberdeen' at the Council held at Perth by Cardinal John, of Salerno (R.G. i. 81).<sup>1</sup>

He witnesses three charters (Nos. iii., lxxxi. and lxxxii.) in the time of Earl David (Lindores). No. iii. must be dated (at latest) in or before 1203, when Osbert, abbot of Kelso (witness), died.

John died in 1207 (M.: Sc. viii. 66); on 13 Oct. 1207, Gavin's *Epistolare* (R.A. ii. p. 247); I disregard Boece, who places his death in 1206 (E.A.V. 10).

**ADAM I.**, de Kald'. (M.), ?Calder in Nairn: de Caral ?Crail in Fife (Sc. viii. 66); 'clericus domini regis' (*ib.*).<sup>2</sup> A sub-deacon: elected 1207—*i.e.* between the death of his predecessor, 13 Oct. 1207 and 25 Dec. or 1 Jan. (for the Chronicle of Melrose seems to follow this method of commencing the year). Boece (E.A.V. 10) speaks of the election being rather by the persuasion and command of the king than by the

<sup>1</sup> Fordun says the Council was held in the month of December, which shows us which St. Nicholas' day was meant in R.G. i. 81. But even without the light thrown by Fordun on the matter, when St. Nicholas' day is mentioned without qualification, it is to be taken as meaning 6 Dec. and not the feast of his translation (9 May).

<sup>2</sup> [Adam, the king's clerk, witnesses a charter of William the Lion (Brit. Mus. Campbell ch. xxx. 5).]

suffrages of the clergy. It is evident that the election was not unopposed, for on 29 Jan. 1207-8 we find Pope Innocent III. sending a mandate to the bishops of Dunkeld and Brechin and the abbot of Kelchou to examine the election of Adam, bishop-elect of Aberdeen, and to confirm it if they find that he did not get himself ordained sub-deacon in order to be made bishop, and that there is no other canonical hindrance (C.P.R. i. 30; E. i. 63).<sup>1</sup>

Sc. (ix. 47) assigns his death to 1228.

Gavin's *Epistolare* places his death in 1228 (R.A. ii. 247); Boece (E.A.V. 11) places his death in 1227.

There are three (undated) charters of Adam—all granted (as we may infer from the identity of the witnesses) at the same time—in R.P.S.A. 299-301.

'A.' is mentioned as a predecessor by Bishop Gilbert (Arbroath, 138). Gavin's *Epistolare* makes Adam chancellor of King William (R.A. ii. 247).

After Adam, according to Boece, *MATTHEW* [Scotus] chancellor<sup>2</sup> of the kingdom, was, by the common consent of the clergy and people, invited to be bishop. 'Clerus cum populo Aberdonensi communi consensu antistitem postulavit' (E.A.V. 11). I am rather doubtful whether we need take *postulavit* here in its technical sense. If we ought to take it in that sense, it may point to Matthew having suffered from 'defect of birth.' Matthew had scarce assented to the request when he learned that he had been chosen by the suffrages of all to the bishopric of Dunkeld, and that this was particularly pleasing to the king. To the latter arrangement he appears to have agreed. But it seems that he died before his consecration (Sc. ix. 47). He is not mentioned by Myln. In Sc. (ix. 47) we read that 'Master Matthew Scot was elected to Aberdeen': 'sed fortassis sereniorum auram expectans tam parvi honoris sublimitatem resignavit.' He died in 1229 (Sc. ix. 47).

<sup>1</sup> [In C.P.R. the numeral 'iv.' before 'Kal. Feb.' has dropped out, making the Bull appear three days later than it was.]

<sup>2</sup> Master Matthew Scott was made the king's chancellor in 1227 on the death of Thomas, archdeacon of Glasgow (M. s.a.).

**GILBERT DE STRIVELYN.** Apparently (Sc. ix. 47) elected 1228. There is an (undated) confirmation by Bishop Gilbert of the various churches belonging to Arbroath in his diocese (Arbroath, i. 138).

In 1236 an amicable composition was made between Gilbert, bishop of Aberdeen, and Andrew, bishop of Moray, as to diocesan jurisdiction over certain churches (R.M. p. 101). [G., bishop of Aberdeen, was present at a council held at Dundee in 1230 (Moray Charter Chest).]

For other charter evidence, see K. and Cosmo Innes (R.A. i. pp. xxii-xxiii).

He died 1239 (M. and Gavin's *Epistolare*: R.A. ii. 247): according to Boece, in 1238 (E.A.V. 12). His death must be after 24 June, 1238, for in the octave of St. John the Baptist he ('G. episcopus Aberdonensis') witnessed a deed relating to the foundation of the monastery of Inchmahome by Walter Cuming, earl of Menteith (see the charter printed in the *Bannatyne Liber Insule Missarum*, pp. xxix-xxxii). The year 1239 is probably the correct year of his death.

Gilbert had a brother, Sir Richard de Warwick (R.P.S.A. 302).

**RANDULPH (RADULF) DE LAMBLEY (Lamley)**, abbot of Arbroath. Succeeded 1239 (M.). He appears as abbot of Arbroath on 30 March, 1226 (Arbroath, i. 120). In his time the great church of the abbey was dedicated 8 May, 1233 (M.). It is related by Boece that he maintained the ascetic life after he became bishop, and that he made the visitation of his diocese on foot.

On 17 June, 1239, Gregory IX. remits to the bishops of Glasgow, Moray, and Caithness to examine into the election and the character of the elect, the abbot of Aberbredac. Two proctors (named) of the dean and chapter of Aberdeen had come with letters to the Apostolic See. It was represented to the pope that the chapter, together, according to custom, with the clergy of the city of Aberdeen, having convened, unanimously transferred to four of the chapter and three of the clergy of the city the power of electing a bishop. The king's consent having been implored and obtained, they elected, *canonice et concorditer*, the abbot. To which election the dean, chapter, and clergy aforesaid gave their ready assent. And

since the elect himself was unable on account of the hazards of the journey (*propter viarum discrimina*) to visit the Apostolic See for confirmation and consecration, the pope remitted the examination to the three bishops; and, if they found all correct, they were, after receiving the oath of fidelity to the Roman See, to confirm and consecrate the elect by the pope's authority (T. No. 99). It is extraordinary that Eubel failed to notice this entry in Theiner.

The above notice of the city clergy of Aberdeen being given a voice in the election of the bishop is of peculiar interest. It will be observed, also, that this was according to custom (*iuxta morem*).

The confirmation and consecration of Randolph would presumably take place a short time after the receipt of the above mandate. He is bishop on 20 Aug. 1240, when he remitted, to the common churches of the chapter of Aberdeen, procurations and other episcopal dues (R.A. i. 15) : and on St. Romanus' Day (23 Oct.), 1240 (R.P.S.A. 303).

On 24 April, 1243, he, as bishop and canon of his cathedral, with other canons, ratified the grants of his predecessors, Matthew, Adam, and Gilbert to the Priory of St. Andrews (R.P.S.A. 305). The bishop of Aberdeen held the sixth prebend, the church of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen ; the first five being those of the dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer, and archdeacon (R.A. ii. 40). His stall in choir was on the south side, separated from that of the dean by the stall of the archdeacon (R.A. ii. 77). He witnessed a charter of Lindores 25 Aug. 1243 (Lindores, p. 90).

He is said to have died in 1247 (Sc. ix. 62 : and Gavin's *Epistolare*, R.A. ii. 247 : and M.). Boece (E.A.V. 13) is even farther from other authorities than usual ; he places the death of R. de Lambley in the thirtieth year of Alexander II., that is, in the year ending 3 Dec. 1244.

If Ralph died in 1247, it must have been very early in the year (see next entry).

**PETER DE RAMSEY.** A deacon.<sup>1</sup> Succeeded 1247. (M. : Sc. ix. 62, the latter adding 'vir nobili ortus prosapia'.)

<sup>1</sup> There is a Peter de Ramsey, canon of Dunkeld in 1245 (R.P.S.A. 308).

Abstract of letter of Innocent IV. to the bishops of St. Andrews, Dunblane, and Brechin, dated Lyons, III Idus Maii, the fourth year of his pontificate. (13th May, 1247.) This is the date given by Eubel. The contents ran thus :

The dean and chapter of Aberdeen, having duly convened, postulated *unanimiter et canonice* Peter de Rameseya, deacon, eminent in letters and wise in affairs, yet being the son of a clerk in minor orders and an unmarried woman. They prayed for a dispensation for his defect of birth, and also for permission that Peter might receive consecration in Scotland. It is remitted to the three bishops to make inquiry as to the mode of postulation, and the merits of him postulated, and, if they were satisfied, to dispense Peter for defect of birth, and, after receiving the customary oath of fealty to the Roman See, to consecrate him (T. No. 122).

Peter sanctions an endowment of a chaplaincy at Logydurnach by Alan Durward, 4 July, 1251 (Lindores, p. 85).

He was appointed one of the king's councillors 20 Sept. 1255 (A.P. i. 419).

For particulars as to his episcopate see Cosmo Innes (Preface to R.A. i. p. xxiv).

He died in 1256 (M.). But Sc. (lib. x. cap. 11) places his death in 1257, and so also Gavin's *Epistolare* (R.A. ii. 247); while Boece (E.A.V.) places it in the fifth year of Alexander III.—i.e. the year ending 7 July, 1254. Boece is certainly wrong, for we find Peter enacting statutes for his cathedral on 18 April, 1256 (R.A. ii. 49).<sup>1</sup>

In 1250 he and the bishop of St. Andrews were appointed by the pope collectors of offerings and legacies for the crusades (C.P.R. i. 263).

**RICHARD DE POTTON.** Poiton (R.A. i. 18); de Pottock, Boece; Pottoht, *Epistolare*; de Poito (R.A. ii. 126); Poitou (E.); Andreas de Porton (Sc. x. 11). An Englishman (*ib.*).<sup>2</sup>

Elect before 4 Oct. 1257 (T. No. 203: the name of the elect is not given, but presumably it was Richard). It is not

<sup>1</sup> Pope Innocent IV. authorised Peter, with the consent of his chapter, to frame statutes on 16 May, 1249 (R.A. ii. 38).

<sup>2</sup> And in Gavin's *Epistolare*; 'nationale Anglus' (R.A. ii. 247).

easy to reconcile with this date the grant of the temporalities by Alexander III. to Richard Poiton, bishop of Aberdeen, dated 10 May, in the seventh year of his reign—that is, the year ending 7 July, 1256 (R.A. i. 18). Even assuming that the king used the phrase 'bishop of Aberdeen' when 'bishop elect' would have been more correct, it is difficult to reconcile the date 10 May with the statement made (above) as to Peter's enactment of the cathedral statutes. The time for celebrating an election seems too brief, Peter's statutes bearing date 18 April, 1256.

The feast of St. Bartholomew (24 Aug.) 1266, is said to be in the ninth year of Richard's pontificate (R.A. ii. 50), which would make Richard to have been *consecrated* in the year ending 23 Aug. 1258.

For notices of his episcopate, see Cosmo Innes (R.A. i. p. xxv). In 1262 he added the prebend of Crechmont (Crimond) to the original thirteen prebends (R.A. ii. 252). He granted the churches of Dunmeth and Cloveth, of which he was patron, to the cathedral 'ad sustentationem luminaris magni altaris et ornamentorum' (R.A. i. 29).

Bishop Richard's death is assigned by Sc. x. 28 to 1270; and it represents the see as vacant in 1271, together with four other sees; by Gavin's *Epistolare* (R.A. ii. 247) to 26 April, 1272. No conclusive light is thrown upon the date by the fact that his successor was confirmed to the see and consecrated before 23 July, 1272 (T. No. 252). But the probabilities rather lean to the later date.

It is impossible to infer with Cosmo Innes from the writ (R.A. i. p. 29) that the see was necessarily vacant in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Alexander III., that is, in the year ending 7 July, 1273. The *Protestatio* is indeed written in the twenty-fourth year. It refers to a presentation to a benefice made *sede vacante*, but when made is not specified.

Boece (E.A.V. 14) places Richard's death in the eighteenth year of Alexander III.—i.e. the year ending 7 July, 1267. This is a bad blunder.

**HUGH DE BENHAM** (Bennam, Benheyem), chancellor of Aberdeen. Consecrated in Italy before 23 July, 1272, when he was commanded by the pope to betake himself to his diocese.

On the vacancy of the see, the dean and chapter, duly convened, elected *concorditer* Hugh, then chancellor of the cathedral. The decree of the election was conveyed to the pope by the proctors of the chapter, Masters Roger de Castello and Thomas de Bennam (note the latter name), clerks, praying for the confirmation of the election. The pope, Gregory X., declares that he had confirmed the election, and had caused the gift of consecration to be bestowed. He directs Hugh to proceed to his church. Dated, Orvieto, 23 July, 1272 (T. No. 252).

'H.,' by the grace of God bishop of Aberdeen, had assented to the foundation of the earl of Buchan's almshouse at Turriff on the Sunday next after the Purification of St. Mary (5 Feb.) 1272 (i.e. 1272-3), (R.A. i. 30-34).

Hugh appears to have been regarded with respect by both Gregory X. and Nicholas III., for he is appointed one of the commissioners to inquire into the fitness of persons elected to the sees of Dunkeld, St. Andrews, Caithness, and Ross (T. and C.P.R. i.).

Hugh de Benham had been a canon of Aberdeen in the time of Bishop Peter (R.A. i. 17).<sup>\*</sup> Thomas de Benham, the proctor of the chapter (above), is chancellor in Jan. 1276-7 (R.A. ii. 278). Perhaps he was a relative of the bishop, and succeeded him in the chancellorship.

Hugh was present at the Council of Lyons in 1274 (Sc. x. 34). He grants a charter 22 Jan. 1276-7 (R.A. ii. 277).

His death is placed by Gavin's *Epistolare* (R.A. ii. 247) in 1282. But by Boece (E.A.V. 15) in the twenty-ninth year of Alexander III.—that is, in the year ending 7 July, 1278. Boece must be wrong, for Hugh is bishop on Wednesday, the vigil of St. Philip and St. James (the feast being 1 May), 1281 (Arbroath, i. 164). The date works out correctly; 30 April (the vigil) was on Wednesday in 1281. Moreover, we find a papal mandate to the bishop of Aberdeen dated 9 March, 1278-9 (C.P.R. i. 457), while Henry le Chen did not succeed till 1282. The date given by the *Epistolare* is consistent with the appointment of his successor. As to the cause of his death, there are differences of statement. An early list (R.A. ii. 126) says 'suffocatus fuit in lacu de Goyle.' The *Epistolare* says 'in lacu Goule insidiis occubuit.' While Boece (E.A.V. 15) writes

'in insula lacus de Gowlis, ubi vicinorum nemorum amoenitate delectatus senex sese continebat, catarrho exundante subito interiit.'

The name of this loch seems to have perished, and its locality is uncertain.<sup>1</sup>

**HENRY LE CHEN** (Chein, Cheyn, Chyum, sometimes De Chen), a deacon: precentor of Aberdeen. He is said by Boece (E.A.V. 16) to have been sister's son of John Cumyn, who was slain by Bruce.<sup>2</sup>

On 17 June, 1282, Pope Martin IV. appoints Henry to the see. The chapter had elected Henry *unanimiter*; but the pope cancelled the election, because Henry was not then a priest. In view, however, of all the circumstances, the pope appoints him (C.P.R. i. 465).

Under the same date the pope commissions the bishops of Glasgow, Dunblane, and Caithness to consecrate Henry, then a deacon, he having been first ordained priest by one of them. They were to receive his oath of fealty to Rome. If one of them cannot be present, the other two are to call another Scottish bishop to their aid (*ib.* 467).

He was at the Parliament 17 March, 1289-90 (A.P. i. 441).

For some reason not clearly ascertained he was for a time deprived of the temporality of the see. He was restored to the king's favour and to the revenues of the see in the Parliament held on Sunday next after the feast of St. Andrew (3 Dec.) 1318 (A.P. i. 477-8).<sup>3</sup> He was present in Parliament in 1321

<sup>1</sup> [It is usually identified with the 'Bishop's Loch' in Newmachar parish. There on an island the bishops had a manor 'whereof the ruined walls yet remain' (*Coll. Hist. Aberdeen*, p. 236). Goval is still a place-name in the vicinity.]

<sup>2</sup> In what seems to be the earliest notice of Bishop Henry in Scottish record (18 Oct. 1285) he appears with Sir Reginald le Chen, senior (Arbroath, i. 167), as a benefactor of the religious house of Ardlogy, a cell of Arbroath. And one cannot but conjecture that he was one of that well-known family.

<sup>3</sup> The frequent notices of Bishop Henry in Scotland during the most troubled time of Bruce's reign seem to make against Boece's statement that he was an exile. See the remarks of Cosmo Innes (R.A. i. p. xxvii).

(A.P. i. 479). He is with the king at Forfar 20 Oct. 1321 (Arbroath, i. 213). In (apparently) 1327 he created the prebend of Ellon (R.A. i. 48).

Henry's death is placed in 1328 by Gavin's *Epistolare* (R.A. ii. 248); and in 1329 by Boece (E.A.V. 18). The former date seems to be more probably correct, for, after the death of Henry, Walter, dean of Moray, had been elected, and the pope (apparently not confirming the election) had appointed him by way of provision. Walter died at Rome shortly after his appointment. And on 21 Aug. 1329 the pope provided Alexander Kinnimund to the see. There is evidently a good deal to fit into the time between Henry's death, if he died in 1329, and 21 Aug. of that year.<sup>1</sup>

There is a Henry le Chen precentor of Aberdeen in Jan. 1276-7 (R.A. ii. 278), presumably the future bishop.

The bishop swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick, 1 Aug. 1291; at Aberdeen, 19 July, 1296; and at Berwick, 28 Aug. 1296 (B.C. ii. pp. 125, 195, 196). On 24 Feb. 1309-10 he was present at the great meeting of the Scottish clergy at Dundee, where they issued their declaration in favour of Robert King of Scots, 'cum quo fidelis populus regni vivere vult et mori' (A.P. i. 460-1). As early as 7 Sept. 1289 Nicholas IV. granted to the bishop of Aberdeen, for three years, the first year's fruits of all churches, prebends, and benefices becoming void in his diocese, for carrying on the construction of the cathedral as planned by his predecessor Hugh (C.P.R. i. 502).

On 16 Aug. 1320 John XXII. summoned Henry (together with David, bishop of Moray, and William, bishop of Dunkeld) to appear at the papal court as abettors of Robert Bruce. They are pronounced contumacious as not having obeyed a previous summons (T. No. 432). On 16 June, 1321 (?), the three bishops, together with the bishop of St. Andrews, are excommunicated by the pope (C.P.R. ii. 445).<sup>2</sup> They remained stubborn, and on 23 May, 1322, the pope commands the

<sup>1</sup> [The see was vacant Whitsunday, 1329 (E.R. i. 247).]

<sup>2</sup> [The true date of the excommunication seems to be 16 June, 1320. In the Bull of 16 Aug. 1320 it is said to have been already pronounced.]

bishops of Winchester and Dunblane to promulgate their public excommunication (T. No. 445). As Henry is subsequently referred to by John XXII. as Henry 'of good memory,' he was doubtless absolved before his death (T. No. 482).

**WALTER HEROT** (Herok), dean of Moray.

I am not aware of there being noticed elsewhere than in T. (No. 482) an election of Walter, dean of Moray, in succession to Henry le Chen. John XXII., when appointing Alexander (see next entry), recounts that, on the death of Henry, Walter, dean of Moray, being then at the Apostolic See as elect of Aberdeen, was (not confirmed) but provided to the see of Aberdeen; and that some days after the said provision he at the Apostolic See (then at Avignon) paid the debt to nature. He is not spoken of as consecrated. He does not appear as dean in R.M.; but from C.P.R. (ii. 285) we learn that on 13 Dec. 1328, John XXII. provided Walter Herot, dean of Moray and canon of Glasgow, to a canonry at Aberdeen. He seems to have been alive on 15 March, 1328-9, for on that day the pope grants to Walter Herot, dean of Moray and having canonries at Aberdeen and Glasgow, a canonry at Dunkeld (*ib.* 288). It is plain that at this date he had not been provided to the bishopric of Aberdeen.

**ALEXANDER DE KYNINMUND** (first of that name), archdeacon of Lothian.<sup>1</sup>

He held a prebend in Brechin which was voided by his consecration (C.P.R. ii. 297). He was a papal chaplain and auditor of the apostolic palace (E.). On 21 August, 1329, provided by John XXII. (T. No. 482, where we find no mention of an election being attempted). Alexander is described as being then archdeacon of Lothian<sup>2</sup> in the diocese of St.

<sup>1</sup> He is found archdeacon of Lothian in 1327 (Holyrood 27 and 29). [As archdeacon of Lothian he witnesses an undated charter by William de Lamberton, bishop of St. Andrews, of the church of Mathylure to the monks of Cupar *in proprios usus (penes* earl of Moray).]

<sup>2</sup> 'Londoniensem' is an obvious error for 'Laudoniensem.' On 11 Nov. 1329, John XXII. provided William Comyn, papal chaplain, provost of St. Mary's in St. Andrews, and chancellor of Glasgow, to

Andrews. 'We have made you to receive the gift of consecration by our venerable brother, Bertrand, bishop of Tusculum.' This cardinal (a Franciscan) had been bishop of Salerno. He was made a cardinal priest in 1320, and translated to Tusculum in 1323.

For events of Alexander's episcopate see preface to R.A. i. pp. xxviii-xxix.

He is perhaps the same as 'Alexander de Kymmoninoth,' canon of Dunkeld, who accompanied an embassy sent by King Robert I. to Rome in 1320 (T. No. 437).

On 29 March, 1330, he was present at David's Parliament at Perth (A.P. i. 511), and secured the continuance of the king's second tithes. [Between 1331 and 1333 he witnessed Sir Gilbert Hay's grant of the patronage of the church of Errol to Coupar Abbey (original among the Coupar charters, *penes* earl of Moray).]

He was present at Edward Baliol's Parliament at Edinburgh, 12 Feb. 1333-4 (A.P. i. 542).

In 1335 he was one of the envoys to treat for peace with England (*Rot. Scot.* i. 390). •

According to Gavin's *Epistolare* (R.A. ii. 248), he died 14 August, 1340. Boece (20) gives the twelfth year of David II. (*i.e.* the year ending 6 June, 1341) as the year of his death; but Boece, too, must be wrong. For either this statement is an error, or there was (wholly improbably) another Alexander who immediately succeeded Alexander de Kyninmund first of that name: for we find 'Alexander, bishop of Aberdeen,' at Arbroath 17 June, 1341 (Arbroath ii. 541); and at Dundee on the 18 June, 1341 (*ib.* 542); and in Parliament 17 Sept. 1341 (A.P. i. 512, and Scone 111); and Alexander, bishop of Aberdeen, is present at St. Nicholas' Church, Aberdeen, 31 May, 1342 (Arbroath ii. 15).<sup>1</sup>

the archdeaconry of Lothian, void by the consecration of Alexander, bishop of Aberdeen (C.P.R. ii. 301).

<sup>1</sup> Since the above was written Dr. Maitland Thomson has supplied me with a reference to a charter (in the Gordonston charter-chest) of David II., dated 1 May, *anno regni* 14, *i.e.* A.D. 1343, witnessed by Alexander, bishop of Aberdeen.

One would not be surprised to learn that he lived till 1344; and we actually find a faculty granted to the bishop of Aberdeen to confer the office of notary on 9 Jan. 1343-4 (C.P.R. iii. 111).

It is plain that his death (if he had died) was not known at Avignon at this date.

Some fifteen months before Kyninmund's appointment to Aberdeen there was a disputed election to St. Andrews, in which the suffrages of the canons were divided between Alexander Kyninmund, archdeacon of Lothian, and James Bene, archdeacon of St. Andrews. Bene, who was at the Apostolic See, was provided to St. Andrews by the pope before the news of the election had reached him (Sc. vi. 45). We have other instances of the pope consoling a defeated candidate for one bishopric by granting him another.

That it is probable that there was no election by the chapter (of Aberdeen) of Alexander arises from the rule that when a bishop died at the Apostolic See the pope claimed the next appointment.

**WILLIAM DE DEYN** (de la Deyne, abbot of Kilwinning). 13 Sept. 1344 (T. 562). In this epistle Clement VI. addresses William as 'elect'; but declares that during the life of Alexander, of good memory, bishop of Aberdeen, he had reserved the see of Aberdeen to his own provision. This being so, the election was null and void; and the pope appoints William, licentiate in decrees, abbot of the monastery of St. Mary of Kilwynyn. On 27 Sept. 1344, a mandate is addressed to him to betake himself to his diocese, having received consecration by Peter, bishop of Palestrina (C.P.R. iii. 170). On 21 Dec. 1344, he is granted an indult to choose his confessor, who would give him, being penitent, plenary remission at the hour of death (*ib.* 159). William's consecrator was Peter Despres (or de Prato), a cardinal bishop, translated to that dignity in 1323. Peter's death was in 1361.

On 27 May, 1345, the pope appoints Deyn collector of fruits, rents, and profits in Scotland, due to the papal camera (C.P.R. iii. 18). Sums collected were transmitted through merchants in Bruges, who were to give acquittances to William (*ib.* 36). On 9 Dec. 1345, he is granted licence to create two

notaries (C.P.R. Pet. i. 89). On 22 July, 1346, he is granted, in response to a petition, for his chaplain Sicardus Joannini, of the diocese of Vabres, a benefice in that diocese (*ib.* 113). In 1347 he joined with the bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Argyll, Brechin, and Dunblane, and the kings of France and Scotland, in petitioning for a dispensation for the marriage of Robert Stewart and Elizabeth More. The petition granted 22 Nov. 1347 (*ib.* 124). He is bishop of Aberdeen 11 Jan. 1347-8 (Cambusk. No. 67). In Feb. 1347-8, William, bishop of Aberdeen, was [still] collector in Scotland of money due to the papal camera (C.P.R. iii. 36).

In 1350 he, with Joan, queen of Scotland, petitions for a dignity or office in the church of Aberdeen to be given to his nephew, William Boyl, scholar of civil law, notwithstanding that he has the vicarage of Samery (? Gamery in Buchan) in that diocese (C.P.R. Pet. i. 198). Bishop William is present and holds a court with the king's justiciar at the standing stones of Rane in the Garioch, 2 May, 1349 (R.A. i. 80).

He died 20 Aug. 1350 (R.A. ii. 248). Boece (E.A.V. 21) says in the twenty-first year of David II.—*i.e.* the year ending 6 June, 1350.

He was buried in the choir of his cathedral (*ib.*).

Before his promotion to Aberdeen, the abbot of Kilwynyn (presumably W. de Deyn) was a papal commissioner in 1343, and in June, 1344 (C.P.R. iii. 82, 150).

He successfully petitioned the pope before the close of 1344 that his successor at Kilwynyn, John de Dalgarnoc, whom the pope had appointed abbot, being seventy years of age, should be spared a journey to the Roman court, and might receive benediction from any catholic bishop (C.P.R. Pet. i. 82).

**JOHN RAIT**, archdeacon of Aberdeen, precentor of Moray, 'Magister in Theologia' (R.A. ii. 126).

On 19 Nov. 1350, Clement VI. addresses John, elect of Aberdeen, declares that while Bishop William occupied the see, he (the pope) had specially reserved the appointment, and that any attempt to meddle with the appointment on the part of others would be null and void. He promotes John, archdeacon of Aberdeen, master in sacred theology, in priest's orders, to the see (T. No. 590). There follows, 14 March, 1350-1, the

mandate to betake himself to his see, having been consecrated by Humbert (dauphin of Vienne), patriarch of Alexandria (C.P.R. iii. 384). Humbert was one of the most prominent figures in the history of France at this period. After a life of gorgeous extravagance and profligacy, he took the habit of the Dominicans in 1349, and, having been rapidly passed through the lower grades, was created by the pope patriarch of Alexandria on 3 Jan. 1350-1. It is thus evident that his acting as the consecrator of Rait was one of his earliest episcopal acts.

Notices of Rait's earlier career—

On 22 May, 1342, John de Rate, M.A., is provided to the archdeaconry of Aberdeen, void by the consecration of Alan, bishop of Caithness, notwithstanding that he has canonries and prebends in Aberdeen and Bruges, and the church of Kilchodiscam [*sic*] (*ib.* 75).<sup>1</sup>

On 1 July, 1342, he is provided to a canonry of St. Donatian's, Bruges, with expectation of a prebend (*ib.* 81).

In March, 1342-3, a canonry and prebend was vacant at Aberdeen through John Rathe obtaining the archdeaconry of Aberdeen (*ib.* 54).

On 3 March, 1348-9, there is a reservation to John de Rathet, S.T.P. and M.A., archdeacon of Aberdeen, of the precentorship of Moray, about to be void by the consecration of John, bishop of Vercelli. (In the relative petition (p. 146) this John is 'John de Fisco, elect of Vercelli.') Rait obtained the precentorship, and held it till it was voided by his consecration. He was succeeded in the precentorship by William Boyl (see last entry). (C.P.R. iii. 291.)

After he became bishop, on 20 June, 1351, having examined ancient evidences belonging to the dean and chapter, and letters of his predecessor, William, deceased, he declares that the church of Fordyce had been a common church of the chapter beyond the memory of man (R.A. i. 81; see ii. 150).

<sup>1</sup> In C.P.R. Pet. i. 1, this church (spelled there 'Kilchodilscam') is said to be in the diocese of Aberdeen. I offer the conjecture that the church of 'Codylstane' is meant. The letter *c* in the last syllable was probably a misreading of *t*: these two letters are particularly like one another in mediaeval manuscripts.

He was bishop of Aberdeen 1 April, 1354 (Kelso, 385).

Rait died 1355 (R.A. ii. 248). Boece (E.A.V. 22) says the twenty-sixth year of David II.—i.e. the year ending 6 June, 1355. He was buried in the choir of his cathedral.

**ALEXANDER DE KYNINMUND II.** (second of that name), archdeacon of Aberdeen.

On the 4 Dec. 1355, Innocent VI. addresses 'Alexander, elect of Aberdeen,' and declares that while John, of good memory, was bishop, he (the pope) judged fit to specially reserve the see to his own provision. The chapter of Aberdeen, 'perhaps in ignorance of the said reservation,' elected him (Alexander) *concorditer* and *per viam scrutini*, he being in priest's orders. On account of the reservation, the pope declares the election to be null and void, but provides Alexander, archdeacon of Aberdeen, to the see (T. No. 625).

Boece (22) relates that the king desired the election of one Nicolas, who had come from France with the king; but the chapter gave a spirited reply, and refused him. According to Boece (23), Alexander was consecrated at Perth in the presence of the king.

There is a charter addressed to Alexander, bishop of Aberdeen, and the canons and chapter, 12 July, 1356 (R.A. i. 83).

On 26 Sept. 1357, he and other bishops were appointed proctors for the ransom of King David II. (B.C. iii. No. 1650). In 1362 King David, at Aberdeen, granted to Alexander, bishop of Aberdeen, and his chapter, the whole land of his park of Garchull in the county of Banff, for the augmentation of the stipend of a chaplain to say mass in the cathedral for his soul and the souls of his ancestors (R.M.S. p. 23, No. 18).

In 1371 he did homage to Robert II. at his coronation (A.P. i. 545).

He is in Parliament 3 April, 1373 (A.P. i. 545).<sup>1</sup>

His seal is used in 1380 (R.A. i. 134): day and month not given.

<sup>1</sup>[On 5 May, 1376, he issued a mandate to the dean of Christianity of Boyne to admit the presentee of the abbot and convent of Coupar to the vicarage pensionary of Alveth (original *penes* earl of Moray).]

He died 29 July, 1380 (R.A. ii. 248). In the accounts of the custumars of Aberdeen rendered 6 March, 1380-1, the bishop of Aberdeen is said to have lately deceased (E.R. iii. 46, and compare p. 56). Boece (E.A.V. 24) places his death in the twelfth year of Robert II.—*i.e.* the year ending 21 Feb. 1382-3; but this is an error, as may be seen from the next entry, and from E.R. (above). The latest notice in C.P.R. (iv. 240) is a confirmation (dated 28 Jan. 1379-80) on a petition of Alexander, bishop of Aberdeen. Boece says he died at Scone, and was buried before the altar of his cathedral.

His seal contains a shield bearing arms : a chevron between three fleurs de lis (Macdonald's *Armorial Seals*, No. 1514).

It is probable that he was the Alexander de Kynymond, licentiate in Arts, who was provided to the deanery of Brechin, 2 June, 1350, notwithstanding that he had the hospital of Aberdeen (C.P.R. iii. 413). As a concurrent mandate was addressed *inter alios* to the archdeacon of Aberdeen, it appears that Kynymund had not yet attained that dignity. It is to be observed that the gossiping Boece does not say whether this bishop was any relation to Alexander de Kynymund I.

It was during the episcopate of Alexander de Kynymund II. that the parish church of Logy, in Buchan, was granted to the chapter as a common church, saving the rights of the then rector. This was confirmed by David II. at Aberdeen, 12 Sept. 1362 (R.M.S. p. 23, No. 16).

**ADAM DE TYNYNGHAM**, dean of Aberdeen. Consecrated in 1380 (before 16 Nov.).

By what seems an error of transcription R.A. (ii. 248) gives the name Adam Cunynghame.

Here the records printed by T. fail us; but Eubel (i. 63) gives 15 Oct. 1380, apparently for his appointment. R.A. (ii. 248) represents him as dean of Aberdeen at the date of his succession to the see, and that this was so may be seen from the following: 'On 16 Nov. 1380, Clement VII. (anti-pope) makes *proprio motu* provision to Simon de Ketenes, M.A., licentiate in canon and civil law, lately elected to the church of Aberdeen, of the deanery of the same, and of the canonry and prebend of Glasgow, void by the consecration of Adam de Tiningham, bishop of Aberdeen' (C.P.R. Pet. i. 555).

His court for the display of charters was held on 24 Oct. 1381 (R.A. i. 135).

Adam had complained that the *husbandi* of Fermartyne had not paid their second tithes. On 6 June, 1382, an order is made by John, earl of Carrick, that these tithes should be paid to the bishop, notwithstanding that the lands of Fermartyne had been given to Sir James de Lindesay (A.P. i. 563).

The following notices of his earlier career are derived from C.P.R. Pet. : In 1344 he petitions for the church of Falkirk in the gift of Holyrood Abbey (77). In 1360 he is secretary of the earl of Douglas, and perpetual vicar of Falkirk, and petitions for a canonry and prebend of Glasgow. He is also a sub-collector of papal dues in Scotland (350). On 9 Nov. 1361, the deanery of Dunblane, void by the promotion of Michael de Monymusk to the deanery of Aberdeen, is provided to him by Innocent VI. (326). He resigns the perpetual vicarage of Falkirk (325). In 1362 he petitions for a canonry of Moray, with reservation of a prebend, notwithstanding that he has provision of the deanery of Aberdeen and a canonry of Glasgow, with expectation of a prebend, which he has not yet obtained (384). In 1364 the king and queen of Scots petition Urban V. on behalf of their clerk, Adam de Tiningham, papal sub-collector, for a certain canonry of Glasgow, notwithstanding that he is litigating about the deanery of Aberdeen, and has provision of a canonry of Moray, with expectation of a prebend. The pope grants this, and requires him to resign one of his benefices (480). On 30 Jan. 1370-1, he is dean of Aberdeen (C.P.R. iv. 99); and on 31 March, 1371, is appointed one of four ambassadors to France (A.P. i. 559). In 1378 the pope makes to Adam de Tinningham, dean of Aberdeen, a member of his household, provision of a canonry of Moray, with expectation of a prebend (C.P.R. Pet. i. 547).

Information from Scottish sources as to his career will be found in Cosmo Innes' Preface (R.A. i. pp. xxxii. xxxiii.) ; and to these should be added the account given in Boece (25-27) which, if fanciful in details, has probably some foundation in fact.

He died *crastino divi Lamberti*, 1389 (R.A. ii. 248). Cosmo Innes says it is difficult to ascertain the date precisely 'as there

are at least three Lamberts in the Calendar of Saints' (R.A. i. xxxiii). But there can be no real doubt that the morrow of St. Lambert is 18 Sept.; for in the Calendar of the Aberdeen Breviary (as in that of Sarum) there is only the one St. Lambert commemorated 'St. Lambert, bishop and martyr' (with three lessons) on 17 Sept. On this day also we find the feast of St. Lambert in the *Missale de Arbuthnott*, and no other saint of that name is commemorated in the Calendar of the Missal. That Tynyngham died about the date given above is supported by the accounts rendered to the exchequer on 10 Feb. 1389-90. The account is for four terms, doubtless from Whitsunday, 1388. For three terms second tithes had been paid to the bishop of Aberdeen, and a payment is made to the exchequer for the period while the see was vacant (E.R. iii. 217). He had been dead for some time, and Gilbert was made bishop on 19 Jan. 1390. See next entry.<sup>1</sup>

Adam de Tynyngham was absent from Scotland on 8 Jan. 1382-3 (R.A. i. 162-3).<sup>2</sup>

The seal of Adam de Tynyngham, not as bishop, but as dean of Aberdeen, is described by Macdonald (*Armorial Seals*, No. 2797). It contains a shield, between two wyverns, bearing arms: a tree between two deer salient addorsed.

**GILBERT DE GREENLAW** (Grinlaw, Grenlau, Grynlaw).<sup>3</sup>

Master Gilbert de Greenlaw was a canon of Aberdeen, 2 May, 1386, and 20 Aug. 1387 (R.A. i. pp. 172, 173, 176). Gilbert de Greenlaw, canon of Moray, licentiate in Arts, had been provided by Gregory XI. to the church of Liston, in the diocese of St. Andrews. He was confirmed in this provision by Clement VII., 26 Oct. 1379 (*Reg. Avin.* 215, 241).

Eubel (i. 63) gives the date 19 Jan. 1389-90 for Gilbert, canon of Aberdeen, elect, provided. If we may trust to Boece,

<sup>1</sup> Boece (E.A.V. 27) assigns his death to 1390, but he is wrong: and he is seriously wrong in making 1390 the third year of Robert III.

<sup>2</sup> [It is doubtful whether this is the true meaning of the record.]

<sup>3</sup> [He graduated (*licentiatuſt est*) at Paris in 1374 (*Auct. Chart. Univ. Paris.* i. 451).]

he was elected *communi suffragio*. He sat in Parliament at Scone as bishop of Aberdeen, 18 March, 1390-1 (A.P. i. 579). He witnesses 20 Oct. 1391 (R.M.S. i. p. 209, No. 40). He is bishop, 4 May, 1392 (E.R. iii. 298).

Information as to his episcopate will be found in the preface by Cosmo Innes (R.A. i. pp. xxxiv-xxxvi).

He was chancellor of Scotland for many years, but not continuously.<sup>1</sup> He appears as chancellor 31 Aug. 1394 (A.P. i. 581, and Melrose, 495).<sup>2</sup> But on 11 Oct. 1495, Master Duncan Petit was chancellor (R.A. i. p. xxxv), and again on 26 April, 1396 (Paisley, 365). We find Greenlaw again chancellor 5 June, 1397 (*Laing Charters*, 83), and 17 Aug. 1399 (R.G. i. 298); and then for many years—but not, perhaps, up to his death; for we find William, bishop of Glasgow, chancellor on 8 Jan. 1421-2 (R.M.S. ii. No. 169).

In 1403 Greenlaw was postulated for St. Andrews, but Benedict XIII. refused to confirm the postulation (see St. Andrews).

According to the *Epistolare*, Greenlaw died in 1422 (R.A. ii. 248); before 8 July, 1422 (E.R. iv. 359). But there are difficulties as to the day of his death. His anniversary is given in the Aberdeen records (R.A. ii. 218) as 20 Sept. But, as is well known, anniversaries and the real day of death are often different. And there is a consistorial entry (see below) which assigns the translation of Henry, bishop of Moray, to Aberdeen to 1 April, 1422. If Greenlaw died in September, it must have

<sup>1</sup> [The charter of 31 Aug. 1394 is preserved only in the later Register of Melrose—a poor authority. Apart from it, Alexander Cockburn of Langton appears regularly as keeper of the Great Seal up to 2 May, 1395 (R.M.S. p. 248, No. 12). Mr. Duncan Petit is chancellor from 7 Sept. 1395 (St. Giles', No. 22) to 14 Jan. 1396-7 (original charter in Reg. House, Cal. No. 205). On 5 June, 1397 (as in text), and thereafter Greenlaw is chancellor.]

<sup>2</sup> See also for 1394 C.P.R. Pet. i. 616. [This Petition, though dated 1394, is evidently antedated, being granted ‘ad vacatura post 13 Kal. May anno 7’ (A.D. 1401). The immediately preceding Petition, also dated 1394, is by Robert duke of Albany, who was not duke till 1398. Antedating of papal grants was a recognized practice—sometimes it is asked for in the Petitions to the Pope.]

been in Sept. 1421; and this would fall in with the notice of William, bishop of Glasgow, as chancellor, on 8 Jan. 1421-2 (see above), supposing Greenlaw to have continued chancellor till his death. Cosmo Innes is plainly in error in stating that he died on 20 Sept. 1422 (R.A. i. p. xxxvi).

His arms are a chevron between two water-budgets in chief, and a hunting-horn in base (Macdonald, *Armorial Seals*, No. 1166).

**HENRY DE LYCHTONE** (Lychtoune, Lichton, Leighton), bishop of Moray, doctor utriusque juris (R.A. 126). He had been prebendary of Kinkel (R.A. ii. 248); and was dispensed in 1409 while holding Kinkel from taking Holy Orders for five years while studying at an University (C.P.R. Pet. i. 639).

He was presumably son of Henry Lychtone and Jonet, his spouse, for whom he founded an anniversary (R.A. ii. 200). He is described as kinsman of the duke of Albany (C.P.R. Pet. i. 639).

Boece (E.A.V. 31) says he was postulated (by the chapter).

His translation is dated 1 April, 1422 (C.P.R. vii. 248; E. i. 63) when he was translated by Martin V. to Aberdeen, vacant by the death of Gilbert. [On 15 Dec.] 1422, Martin V. wrote to the bishops of Dunblane and Dunkeld to receive from Henry, bishop of Aberdeen, whom the pope has recently translated thither from Moray, to save him labour and expense in coming to Rome, the usual oath of fealty (C.P.R. vii. 259).

Brady gives 3 April, 1422, as the date of Lychtone's translation.

Lychtone began to rebuild his cathedral (R.A. ii. 181).

Henry, bishop of Aberdeen, witnesses 12 Aug. 1424 (R.M.S. ii. No. 54), and earlier in the same year, on 20 Feb. 1423-4, he is also found as a witness (R.A. i. 220), and on 31 July, 1424 (R.A. i. 221).

On 9 June 1425, Henry, bishop of Aberdeen; William, bishop of Dunblane; John, abbot of Melrose; James, prior of St. Andrews; John, abbot of Balmerino; and others, receive from Henry VI. a safe-conduct as ambassadors of the king of Scots setting out for Rome with fifty attendants. *Privy Seals (Tower)*, (B.C. iv. No. 979). On 24 Jan. 1429-30, he, with John, bishop of Glasgow, chancellor of Scotland; Michael, bishop of Dunblane; and several nobles and others receive from

Henry VI. a safe-conduct to meet the English at Hawdenstank with 800 men to redress complaints (B.C. iv. No. 1032).

Other particulars of his history will be found in Cosmo Innes' Preface (R.A. i. pp. xxxvi-xxxviii).

While bishop of Moray he had given two pairs of gloves for the bishop of Aberdeen with (?) as bosses figures of SS. James and John (R.A. ii. 145). And after he became bishop of Aberdeen he was a generous benefactor to the treasury of the cathedral by gifts of handsome *jocalia*, vestments, and service-books (see R.A. ii. 127 ff., where will be found the inventory made in 1437 by the treasurer, Henry Rynde, the bishop's nephew). His work in restoring the building of the cathedral is described by Boece. The walls were built and two bell-towers, while at his death the third (presumably that at the crossing of the transepts) remained unfinished (E.A.V. 34). He also constructed in the cathedral the chapel of St. John the Evangelist, where he was afterwards buried (*ib.*).

Henry was consecrated by the famous (anti-pope) Benedict XIII. at Valencia in Spain, 8 March, 1414-5 (R.M. 360).

As to the date of Lychtone's death R.A. (ii. 221 and 248) gives the year as 1440. And R.A. (ii. 205) makes his *obit* to be celebrated on 12 Dec., in fifteenth century; while it seems that in the sixteenth century his anniversary was celebrated on 14 Dec. (R.A. ii. 221). Boece (34) agrees as to the year, and does not mention the day.

Again, the chapter of the cathedral are found laying down regulations as to the election of Lychtone's successor in the see on Wednesday 11, and Friday 13 Jan., 'in the year from the Nativity of our Lord 1440' (R.A. ii. 68, 69). Now, the mention of the days of the week enables us to determine with certainty that the year was 1440-1. Again, Lychtone's monument (see Russel's edition of Spottiswoode's *History* (i. 237) concludes with the date 'MCCCXL.' This date on the monument, though it may refer to the date of his work on the fabric of the cathedral, not improbably marks his death. All this evidence points to Lychtone's death having occurred late in 1440, and probably on 12 Dec. or (possibly) 14 Dec.

But we are met with the difficulty that Brady (i. 132) records that Ingeram de Lindesay (Lychtong's successor) offered his

*commune servitium* (1259 gold florins) on 28 June, 1440. All, I think, that can be said is that the year, as given by Brady (whether the error be his or an error in his source) is wrong, and should be 1441. Ingeram, his successor, as prebendary of Methlak, was present at the preliminary meeting of the chapter referred to above, and his provision to the see is given by Eubel (ii. 87) as 28 April, 1441. If he made his 'offering' on 28 June, 1441, it would all be natural.

Keith, then, is wrong in assigning Lychtone's death to 1441. Russel, in his edition of Keith, states in a footnote (p. 113) that Lychtone occurs as a witness on 4 May, 1441, but does not cite his authority. I think I have traced the source of this erroneous statement. Russel seems to have had access to Lord Woodhouselee's annotated copy of Keith (now in the possession of Bishop Dowden), and there we find in Lord Woodhouselee's manuscript, 'He (Lychtone) occurs as a witness 4 May, 1441 (see Reg. of St. Nicholas' Ch. Aberd. fol. 74).' Now, on turning to Professor Cooper's edition of *Cartularium Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis* (New Spalding Club, folio 74, p. 186) we find that the seal of Henry, bishop of Aberdeen, was attached to the charter of Henry Leyt, lord of Barnis, on 4 May, 1440. Thus we have disposed of the difficulty here presented. Professor Cooper in his *Tabula Rerum* prefixed to the chartulary gives the date as 1444; but it will suffice to print the exact text, from which it is obvious that 'quarto' must be construed with 'die': the words are 'In anno dominj MCCCC quadragesimo quarto die mensis maij' (p. 186).<sup>1</sup>

**INGERAM (INGELRAM) DE LINDESAY**, prebendary of Methlak in Jan. 1440-1 (R.A. ii. 68). He was a doctor of canon law, and was elected 'magno omnium applausu' (Boece, E.A.V. 34).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Henry de Lychtone had a daughter Janet (*Joneta*) who married Andrew de Glaster, who had been confirmed by a certain catholic bishop, Janet's father, and had thus contracted spiritual relationship with Janet for which he had to be dispensed in 1432 (C.P.R. viii. 447).

<sup>2</sup> He had been a chaplain and acolyte of Pope Eugenius IV., and had a safe-conduct through England to Calais, 10 May, 1434, to the general council at Bâle (*Rot. Scot.* ii. 286).

As to the date of his election, or rather postulation (for he was illegitimate) see what has been said under the last entry as to the date of the death of Lychtone. In the *Obbligazioni* (B. i. 132) we find, on 28 June, 1440 (this is an error for 1441; see last entry), the honourable man, Andrew de Dunnouin, rector of the parish church of Lunduh (*sic*), in the diocese of Moray,<sup>1</sup> as procurator in the name of the Reverend Father Ingeram Lindesai, bishop of Aberdeen, 'obtulit' for his *commune servitium*, 1259 gold florins. Likewise that on 2 Aug. Robert de Martellis 'obligavit,' etc.

Eubel (ii. 87) gives the date of his provision as 28 April, 1441, and states that he suffered from defect of birth. The see was held to be vacant on 27 July in the fifth year of James (II.), *i.e.* in 1441, when the king ordered the 'tent penny' of his casualties to be delivered to the dean and chapter (R.A. i. 330). Up to that date the bishop had probably been unable to present the papal Bulls, and to swear fealty.

Ingeram was bishop of Aberdeen 8 Feb. 1442-3 (R.M.S. ii. 270; A.P. ii. 58).

Various incidents in his episcopate will be found summarised by Cosmo Innes (R.A. i. xxxviii-xl). He put a stone roof on the cathedral, and laid down a pavement (R.A. ii. 248). Several gifts of his are noted in the inventories; and he added the churches of Monimusk and Rothwen to the number of the cathedral prebends (R.A. ii. 253).

As was the case in regard to the date of the appointment of Ingeram, so there has been confusion as to the date of his death. In the list of the bishops of Aberdeen appended to Gavin's *Epistolare* (which was not written till 1527) we read Ingeram died, worn out by old age, in 1454 (R.A. ii. 248). This is unquestionably an error, for we find a charter of his dated 13 Dec. 1456 (*ib.* i. 282), as well as a declaration of his earlier in the same year, 31 Aug. 1456 (*ib.* ii. 76, 77).

But there are difficulties in determining the year of Ingeram's death. His *obit* was 24 Aug. (*ib.* ii. 203); and as his *anniversary* was celebrated on 7 Nov. (*ib.* ii. 220), we may be

<sup>1</sup>[On 10 May, 1457, David Stewart was appointed to the parsonage of Lundichti (now Dunlichty), vacant by the death of Andrew de Donwin at the Apostolic See (*Reg. Lat.* 523. 170).]

tolerably confident that the date of the *obit* is the real date of his death. In what year was his death? We are limited to 1457 and 1458. If we may trust the date of a charter of his dated 2 June, 1458 (R.A. i. 282), the matter is decided. But we are met with the difficulty that Brady gives 26 Nov. 1457 as the *obligavit* of Thomas, bishop of Candida Casa, translated to Aberdeen, and Eubel gives 21 Nov. 1457 [as the date of his translation].<sup>1</sup>

Boece (37) places Ingeram's death in the twenty-second year of James II., which is a point in favour of 24 Aug. 1458. Again, we find 'Thomas, bishop of Candida Casa and keeper of our Privy Seal,' frequently in the summer and autumn of 1458 (R.M.S. ii.); and as late as 3 March, 1458-9 (R.M.S. ii. 683, 685).

There is no reason for doubting Boece when he says that Ingeram had written commentaries on the sixth book of the Decretals and on the Constitutions of Clement V., and that he had begun, but did not finish, commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul, 'quas in sinu semper habuit, verbatimque edidicerat.'

It is plain from Boece's account that Ingeram was regarded with the deepest affection by the citizens of Aberdeen. His body was buried in the choir of the cathedral, and a stone effigy erected by his friends over his grave.

From Eubel we learn that Ingeram de Lindesay was of illegitimate birth. He founded an anniversary (16 Jan.) in the cathedral for David de Lindesay, earl of Crawford, who died 1445-6 (R.A. ii. 210; compare 200). This was the third earl.

In 1430 Ingeram Lindesay was in possession of the prebend of Kynnoire in Moray, but, as was alleged, wrongfully (C.P.R. viii. 204). In 1439-40 he is precentor of Moray, and had an important case of discipline committed to him by the pope somewhat previously (*ib.* 295). In 1430-1 he is said to have been lately dispensed for illegitimacy (the son of a baron unmarried and an unmarried woman), and to hold any number of compatible benefices. He is appointed to the precentorship of Moray though he holds the prebend of Kynnoire in Moray, a canonry and prebend in Brechin, and the vicarage of Monkton

<sup>1</sup> [21 Nov. 1457 is undoubtedly the date of Spens' Bull of provision to Aberdeen, vacant by Ingeram's death (*Reg. Lat.* 521. 260).]

in the diocese of Glasgow (value altogether not exceeding 38 lb.). The precentorship did not exceed 40 lb. (*ib.* 336). He is at Rome 13 June, 1431 (*ib.*). His brother Alexander (also illegitimate) succeeds him at Kynnoire on its becoming vacant through Ingeram succeeding to the precentorship. Alexander was and continued to be treasurer of Aberdeen (451, 452). Ingeram resigned Monkton before 9 May, 1433.<sup>1</sup>

**THOMAS SPENS** (de Spens, Spence), bishop of Galloway. He, then a proto-notary apostolic,<sup>2</sup> had been advanced to the see of Galloway, 7 Jan. 1449-50 (E. ii. 130). He had held, before his promotion to Galloway, the succentorship of Moray (T. No. 763), the archdeaconry of Galloway, and the provostship of the collegiate church of Lincluden (Boece).

If we are to accept the record of Eubel (ii. 87) that he was translated to Aberdeen, 21 Nov. 1457, it may be conceived that he was appointed at first as coadjutor to the aged Ingeram, though of that there is no hint. As we have seen, in Scottish record the evidence is in favour of Ingeram de Lindesay's death being in 1458. But the record cited by Eubel may be in error as to the year<sup>3</sup>; and Eubel is certainly in error in making Thomas Vaus, bishop of Galloway, succeed (on the death of Spens) to Aberdeen, 22 Dec. 1458. It does appear that, on the translation of Spens, Vaus, dean of Glasgow, was appointed to Galloway, but probably the Bulls were never expedited, for we find Thomas Vaus, still dean of Glasgow, in company with Thomas, bishop of Aberdeen, and conservator of the privileges of the Scottish church at Perth, 19 July, 1459 (A.P. ii. 84).

Dr. J. Maitland Thomson, who has examined the records in the Vatican, informs me that 'there is nothing to show that Thomas succeeded Thomas at Aberdeen, while in 1458 oblations are made on behalf of Thomas, bishop of Aberdeen, and Ninian, bishop of Whithorn (22 Dec. 1458).'<sup>4</sup> But Brady

<sup>1</sup> [Earlier notices of him are in C.P.R. Pet. and C.P.R. vii. He was dispensed for illegitimacy before 1416 (C.P.R. Pet. i. 604).]

<sup>2</sup> [He was appointed papal notary 11 April, 1447 (*Reg. Vat.* 432. 7).]

<sup>3</sup> [But see footnote, p. 124.]

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Vaus appears to have continued dean of Glasgow till near the appointment of James Lindesay in 1466.

(i. 133) concurs with Eubel in finding a record of oblations made on behalf of Spens in Nov. 1457 (his date is 26 Nov. 1457), when he is described as lately translated by authority of the Apostolic See from Candida Casa to Aberdeen. He offered 1250 gold florins and five *minuta servitia* by the hands of Henry Liberton. All that can be said is that if Bulls were expedited at this date, they were ineffective.

As late as 3 March, 1458-9, Spens appears as 'Thomas, bishop of Candida Casa and keeper of the Privy Seal' (R.M.S. ii. Nos. 683, 685). One week later (10 March, 1458-9) he appears as 'bishop of Aberdeen and keeper of the Privy Seal' (*ib.* Nos. 686, 687). See above for his appearance at Perth on 19 July, 1459; and on 16 April, 1459, Thomas, bishop of Aberdeen, is witness to a charter of Mary of Gueldres (Holyrood, 147). He witnesses at Huntly 20 Sept. 1460 (R.M.S. iii. 2100).

The interesting story of the life of Spens, as told by Boece, reads more like a romance than veritable history. Yet that his life was stirring and adventurous there can be no question. Cosmo Innes justly observes that he was 'a personage so much mixed up with public affairs, that to give the details of his life would be to write the account of Scottish politics for the time' (R.A. i. p. xl). Many particulars, chiefly diocesan, are gathered together by Cosmo Innes.

On 23 May, 1469, Thomas grants a deed at Edinburgh (Bryce's *Grey Friars*, ii. 218).

Shortly after the erection of St. Andrews into a Metropolitan See (1472), Spens had sufficient influence to secure from Sixtus IV., on his own petition and that of the king, exemption from metropolitan jurisdiction, 14 Feb. 1473-4 (T. No. 858). At this date Spens is described as 'senio confectus' (*ib.*).

Spens received from Edward IV. of England a large annuity and occasional 'rewards' (B.C. iv. Nos. 1360, 1383). Boece says that Edward, in gratitude for Spens having disclosed a plot for the king's assassination, allowed Spens annually 1000 rose-nobles.

Spens fortified the episcopal palace, built the tabernacle of the altar in the cathedral (R.A. ii. 248), and placed new and beautifully-wrought stalls in the choir, and gave many *orna-*

*menta*, copes, chasubles, tunics, dalmatics, and rich hangings (Boece). For various gifts, see R.A.

His consecration would seem to have been when he was only a coadjutor of Alexander Vaus, bishop of Galloway, for 1 April, 1470, is said to be in the twenty-third year of his consecration (R.A. i. 308)—that is, he was consecrated before 1 April, 1448, while his *obtulit* for Candida Casa was on 27 May, 1450 (B. i. 158), and Eubel gives 7 Jan. 1449-50 for his appointment.<sup>1</sup>

It is said by Keith that he erected a hospital in Edinburgh. He refers, no doubt, to S. Mary's Hospital, situated in Leith Wynd, and known as early as 1489 as the 'Hospital at St. Paul's Work' (*Lord High Treasurer's Accounts*, i. pp. lxxxvii and 107) for twelve poor men, founded by Spens, not many months before his death, in 1479 (Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*, 247).

We find Thomas, bishop of Aberdeen, witnessing (a few weeks before his death) at Edinburgh, 11 Feb. 1479-80 (R.M.S. ii. No. 1439). He died in 1480 (R.A. ii. 248); on 15 April, 1480, and was buried next day in the queen's collegiate church of the Holy Trinity, Edinburgh, the king, six bishops, and many nobles being present (Boece, 54). His seal (as recorded by Macdonald, *Armorial Seals*, No. 2517) is imperfect. The arms are: 1st and 4th indistinct (? two covered cups), 2nd and 3rd three martlets.

**ROBERT BLACADER** (Blackadir, Blakatir, etc.), brother of Sir Patrick Blacader of Tulliallan, canon and prebendary of Cardross in the cathedral of Glasgow, rector of Lasswade: proto-notary apostolic (E. ii. 87).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [The document dated 1 April, 1470, is a commission, which was executed 21 April, 1473. Possibly the numerals iii may have dropped out, and the true date of the commission also may be 1473, which would make him consecrated between 2 April, 1450, and 1 April 1451.]

<sup>2</sup> [He was received as a bachelor into Paris university in 1464; and graduated there as licentiate, 1465 (*Auct. Chart. Univ. Paris*. ii. 952, 957). In 1471 he was James III.'s ambassador to the pope, and on 30 March of that year was provided to the abbacy of Melrose (T. No. 850; B. i. 197). In 1474, being then styled clerk of St. Andrews diocese and principal ambassador of the king of Scots to the

He sat as 'elect of Aberdeen' among the Lords of Council on 12 and 23 June, 1480 (*Act. Dom. Con.* 49, 59). He is 'elect of Aberdeen,' 19 Aug. 1480 (Scone, 197). His provision is dated 14 July, 1480 (E. ii. 87).

The bishop of Aberdeen appears in Parliament on 11 April, 1481 (A.P. ii. 133) and on 13 April he is named as 'Robert, bishop of Aberdeen' (*ib.* 134); but these must not be taken as proofs that he was then consecrated, for if we accept the language of the Burgh Records of Aberdeen he was only 'elect, affirmat' on 7 Nov. 1481 (*Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen*, p. 411). The burgesses were in dispute with the bishop, and they are pretty sure to be correct in their designation.<sup>1</sup>

Again, he is 'elect and confirmed of Aberdeen' on 26 Nov. 1481 (*Laing Charters*, No. 184). Indeed, he does not appear to have been consecrated during his tenure of the bishopric of Aberdeen; for Pope Alexander VI., writing to Bishop Elphinstone on 12 Dec. 1494, speaks of his predecessor 'Robert, then elect of Aberdeen' having been released from the *vinculum* by which he was bound to Aberdeen, and as having been translated to Glasgow (T. No. 894).

It appears that Blacader had withdrawn the grant, made by 'Bishop Thomas Spens, quhom God assolye to the bigging of the quer of Abirdene,' of the second tithes of Aberdeen. This was strongly resented by the alderman, council, and community of the burgh. See their violent action on 7 Nov. 1481 in *Extracts from the Council Register* (Spalding Club), p. 411.

Blacader was provided to Glasgow, 19 March, 1482-3 (E. ii. 177), and on 13 April, 1483 (T. No. 873), a Bull was issued [to secure him against opposition; see under Glasgow].

For Blacader's career at Glasgow, and his arms, see Glasgow.

pope, he was provided to the precentory of Dunkeld (*obligavit* dated 22 July). In 1476 he resigned both abbacy and precentory, and was provided to pensions of 120 merks and £20 Scots respectively out of the revenues thereof (Roman Transcripts, Public Record Office). For the rectory of Lasswade his *obligavit* is dated 21 Aug. 1476; for the archdeaconry of Aberdeen, 2 Oct. 1479 (*ib.*.)]

<sup>1</sup> See the remarks of Cosmo Innes (R.A. i. p. xlvi, note 2).

**WILLIAM ELPHINSTONE**, bishop of Ross. His appointment to Ross is dated 3 Aug. 1481 (E. ii. 248). He is 'elect confirmed of Ross 26 Nov. 1481 (*Laing Charters*, No. 184); and as late as 17 May, 1484, he appears in Parliament as 'elect confirmed of Ross' (A.P. ii. 166). He was translated to Aberdeen 19 March, 1482-3 (E. ii. 87), being the same day on which his predecessor at Aberdeen was translated to Glasgow.

On 17 May, 1484 he is 'William elect confirmed of Ross' [but on 27 July, 1484, he is styled bishop of Aberdeen (see under Ross)].

On 29 July, 1484, we find William, 'elect, confirmed of Aberdeen,' present at the election of David Lichton as abbot of Arbroath (Arbroath, ii. 210). On 30 Aug. 1484 the king commissioned William, bishop of Aberdeen, with others, to negotiate a marriage between his eldest son, James, duke of Rothesay, and the Lady Anne, niece of King Richard of England (*Fæd.* xii. 232). He is 'elect, confirmed' on 6th May, 1485, and 13 Dec. 1485 (R.G. ii. 448; R.A. i. 318). On 16 April, 1488, a grant of King James III. is witnessed by 'Willelmo episcopo Abbirdonensi, cancellario nostro' (R.M. p. 236). He is 'bishop, by the grace of God and of the Apostolic See,' 4 June, 1490 (R.A. i. 316). He is bishop of Aberdeen and keeper of the Privy Seal, 6 April, 1496 (Cambusk. No. 129).

It is certain that he was not consecrated when he was translated to Aberdeen. And when he was consecrated I have been unable to discover.

Boece (E.A.V. 57-112) gives many particulars as to the life of Elphinstone, but, as is usual with him, he is, in the main, regardless of chronology. The reader may consult with advantage the sketch of Elphinstone by Cosmo Innes (R.A. i. pp. xlii-li, and *Sketches of Early Scotch History*, pp. 257-267).

On 5 Aug. 1514 a letter was written on behalf of James V. to Leo X., urging that the bishop of Aberdeen might be translated to St. Andrews (*Ep. Reg. Scot.* i. 199). Elphinstone had consented to the pope's being asked that Andrew, bishop of Caithness, when translated to Aberdeen, and the see of Aberdeen, should be perpetually exempted from the jurisdiction of

the archbishop of St. Andrews, whether as primate or legate (*ib. i. 184*).

Elphinstone died at Edinburgh, 25 Oct. 1514 (R.A. ii. 249; R.G. ii. 616);<sup>1</sup> see also Lesley (*De Reb. Gest.* p. 372); in his eighty-fourth year (R.A. ii. 249), which would make his birth about 1431 (not 1437, as Cosmo Innes makes it). After his viscera had been removed and buried in the Black Friars' House, Edinburgh, his body, having been embalmed, was conveyed to Aberdeen, and buried before the principal altar of his (*i.e.* King's) college (R.A. ii. 310-311; E.A.V. 109).<sup>2</sup>

He was chancellor of Scotland 1487-8; and keeper of the Privy Seal as early as 5 Dec. 1492 (R.M. 247). He was loyal to James III., and on the murder of the king was not continued in the chancellor's office.

A letter of Pope Alexander VI., written to Elphinstone on 12 Dec. 1494, deals with his appointment to both Ross and Aberdeen. From this letter we learn that Pope Sixtus IV. had provided Elphinstone to Ross by apostolic authority, with a dispensation for defect of birth, he being the son of a presbyter and an unmarried woman. Afterwards the same pope, on the vacancy occurring by the translation of Robert, elect of Aberdeen, to Glasgow, translated Elphinstone to Aberdeen, releasing him from the *vinculum* by which he was bound to Ross, 'munere consecrationis tibi minime impenso' (T. No. 894). This is conclusive that Elphinstone was not consecrated while he held the see of Ross. The occasion of this letter of Pope Alexander VI. was the desire of Elphinstone to secure himself against any objection that might be raised, from the fact that his defect of birth had not been mentioned in the Bull for his 'translation' to Aberdeen.

Elphinstone's father was perhaps William Elphinstone, first rector of Kirkmichael and afterwards archdeacon of Teviotdale, whose *obit* was 30 June, 1486 (R.G. ii. 616). It was this

<sup>1</sup>[Nearly two months later (8 Dec. 1514) Pope Leo X. issued a Bull commanding him to desist from intruding himself into the see of St. Andrews within six days (Hergenröther, *Reg. Leonis X.* i. 792).]

<sup>2</sup>The college was dedicated to S. Mary the Virgin, but soon came to be known as King's.

William Elphinstone, master in Arts and in Decrees, and rector of Kirkmichael, who apparently was himself legitimated, 25 June, 1477, by James III.<sup>1</sup> See D. Laing's preface to the *Metrical Life of Bishop Elphinstone* (Hunterian Club : 1876).

Elphinstone has been dealt with so fully by Cosmo Innes (R.A. i. pp. xlii-li) that little more need be said of him here.

Boece, who was summoned from the college of Montacute in Paris to Aberdeen by the bishop, has written a very interesting and very eulogistic life of Elphinstone ; but to be particular as to chronology is not after his manner.

Elphinstone's stay of over eight years in France as a young man, studying at Paris and Orleans, and lecturing on canon law in the university of the former city, helped to qualify him for the foreign embassies of which he was afterwards a member.

The royal letter to the pope already referred to (*Ep. Reg. Scot.* i. 199) shows that Boece is not correct in saying that Elphinstone, designated archbishop of St. Andrews, 'canonicorum et regni majorum auctoritate,' steadily refused that dignity. But he is right in saying that he never held any abbacy or other ecclesiastical dignity *in commendam*, 'ut nunc plerique' (E.A.V. 106).

Beside Elphinstone's public acts as a statesman, which form part of civil history, we have to note his successful efforts for the establishment of an university at Aberdeen. The university, or *generale studium*, in Old Aberdeen was erected by Pope Alexander VI. in a Bull dated St. Peter's at Rome, 10 Feb.

<sup>1</sup>[The author in a later note assigns this legitimation to the future bishop (see below). It is not easy to distinguish the two William Elphinstones ; and there may have been more than two. It was no doubt the future bishop who on 22 May, 1472 (then styled rector of Kirkmichael, master of arts, bachelor in decrees, and official general of Glasgow) obtained an extension of a previous dispensation to hold benefices notwithstanding his illegitimacy (*Reg. of Petitions*, 673. 49). But which was the William who had been provided to Kirkmichael as early as 1457 (*Reg. Lat.* 528. 205, where it appears his right was contested) ? and who was the William de Elphinstone 'of a noble race of barons on both sides,' who had a provision of a canonry of Dunkeld in 1453 (*Reg. Vat.* 429. 120) ?.]

1494-5.<sup>1</sup> It was to enjoy the privileges conceded to the universities of Paris and Bononia (Bologna). The bishops of Aberdeen were to be *ex officio* chancellors. A grant of certain rents of the king and of certain rights and privileges was made by the king under the great seal on 22 May, 1497 (R.M.S. ii. No. 2358). For further grants on 19 Aug. 1498, see R.M.S. ii. No. 2442.

Elphinstone's building of the college and his numerous splendid gifts to the *ornamenta* of the college church are detailed by Boece. The same writer tells how Elphinstone completed the great tower of the cathedral, which he covered (together with the roof of the whole building) with lead. In the tower he placed three bells, 'duodecim millium pondo.' He also made great preparations for the rebuilding of the choir, a large part of which was completed before his death. He made numerous gifts of vestments and *ornamenta* to the cathedral, many of which are described (Boece, 93-99). A description of the *mitra preciosa* and its jewels, as restored by Elphinstone, occupies three and a half quarto pages of print in R.A. (ii. 162-166).

The *Breviarium Aberdonense*, printed in Edinburgh by Walter Chepman, appeared in two volumes; the *pars hyemalis* on 13 Feb. 1509-10, and the *pars estivalis* on 4 June, 1510. Licence under the Privy Seal was granted to Walter Chepman and Andro Myllar on 15 Sept. 1508, enjoining that 'mess bukis, manualis, matyne bukis, and portuus bukis efter our awin Scottis use, and with legendis of Scottis sanctis, as is now gaderit and ekit be ane Reverend fader in God and our traist consalour, Williame bischope of Abirdene and utheris, be usit generaly within al oure Realme alssone as the sammyn may be imprentit and providit, and that na maner of sic bukis of Salusbery use be brocht to be sauld within our Realme in tym cuming' (A.P. i. 28, note 2).

I have reserved a few debatable questions to the concluding paragraphs.

The dates in the following narrative (based on Boece) are partly conjectural (based on the dateless *Life* by Boece), partly

<sup>1</sup> There is a facsimile in the *National Manuscripts of Scotland*, iii. No. viii.

established on documentary evidence. He took his M.A. at Glasgow, and was priested in his twenty-fifth year, *i.e.* about 1456. He was for some years at home managing the affairs of his parents. Studied canon law, and attended the lectures of approved teachers in the University of Glasgow. Practised as an advocate in the courts of law. Retired to the country, where he was given the pastoral care of the church of St. Michael; there he remained four years. Unless there is positive documentary evidence that this was St. Michael's Church in the Trongate of Glasgow, Boece's pointed reference to his going to the *country* for leisure to pursue his studies would lead us to look elsewhere for the church to which he was appointed. Why not Kirkmichael in Annandale, or Kirkmichael in Carrick—both in the diocese of Glasgow? He was recalled to Glasgow by his uncle, Laurence Elphinstone, who urged him to study abroad, offering him a liberal supply of means to do so. He studies canon law diligently in Paris, and exciting the admiration of the professors for his knowledge and abilities; is made 'Primarius Lector,' a dignity not conferred in Paris on any but those deeply skilled in both civil and canon law. For six years he lectured on *jus pontificium* to crowded audiences. After this he took his degree *in sacris decretis*, and passed to Orleans to further study law. While in France he became a very intimate friend of John de Gana (Jean de Ganay)—not John de Gaucir, an apocryphal person who appears in the article on 'William Elphinstone' in the *Dict. Nat. Biography* (vol. xvii. p. 329). Jean de Ganay was high chancellor of France under Louis XII., 1507-1512. Elphinstone was recalled by his parents in the ninth year after his leaving Scotland. Cosmo Innes makes his return to Scotland to be in 1471, which would fit in pretty well with Boece's dateless account. He was soon after appointed to the post of official general of the diocese of Glasgow. We find Master William Elphinstone, official general,<sup>1</sup> in Parliament 6 May, 1471 (A.P. ii. 98). Again, we find William Elphinstone, official general of Glasgow, on 29 Jan. 1472-3 (R.G. ii. p. 420). According to Cosmo Innes, he still held this office in 1476. He was next made official of the archdeaconry of Lothian, and as such sat in Parliament

<sup>1</sup>[Or rather perhaps official of Glasgow. The record only has *g.*]

1 June, 1478, and again in the Parliament that met 6 March, 1478-9, and 4 Oct. 1479 (A.P. ii. 116, 122, 124). He was soon after advanced to the bishopric of Ross (see above).

In the 'Life' in *Dict. Nat. Biography* (xvii. 329) we have the absurdity that our William Elphinstone was made 'archdeacon of Lismore' in 1478 and afterwards, as a reward by the king for the successful management of an embassy, 'archdeacon of Argyll' in 1479; the author being evidently unaware that Lismore and Argyll are different names for the same diocese. But was our William Elphinstone ever archdeacon of Argyll (or Lismore)? There was, indeed, a William Elphinstone archdeacon of Lismore, who desired to exchange the archdeaconry for the prebend of Erskine on 2 Dec. 1479 (R.G. ii. p. 439); but there is nothing to identify him with the future bishop. Boece makes no mention of our Elphinstone ever having held the office of archdeacon of Argyll. Cosmo Innes is silent.

I have not found the statement that our Elphinstone was archdeacon of Argyll earlier than Keith, and I suspect that he assumed, without evidence, that the William Elphinstone who was archdeacon was the same as the future bishop.

In the *Dictionary of National Biography* it is stated that William Elphinstone on his return from France was 'almost immediately chosen rector of the University [of Glasgow].'

Cosmo Innes, with sagacity, declared that the theory that Elphinstone's father was a man legitimately married, who took orders after he had become a widower, was 'a pious fiction.' That he was right we now know from the documents printed by Theiner. But even after Cosmo Innes had written, we find such an excellent historian as Dr. George Grub (*Ecclesiastical Hist.* i. 403) coming to the conclusion that Elphinstone's father was 'a citizen of Glasgow, engaged in trade,' and was never in orders.

Parentage of Elphinstone: Rev. George Grub, son of the historian, has written to me to say that his father has left on record that after seeing Theiner he was satisfied that he had made a mistake. It is to be added that in Scottish record we have testimony to the illegitimacy. Dr. David Laing in the Preface to a poetical version of his Life of Elphinstone cites a grant made by James III. 25 June, 1477, to 'speciali

et dilecto clero nostro Magistro Willelmo Elphinstone Rectori de Kirkmichael in Artibus Magistro et in Decretis,' of licence to dispone lands, tenements, etc. 'non obstante bastardia sua in qua genitus est' and legitimating him. The writ is at Cumbernauld House: see Dr. Moir's edition of Boece's *Vitae*, p. 172. [On 26 Dec. 1494 Bishop William had a Bull validating his provisions notwithstanding his illegitimacy (*Oblig.*).]

Keith says that Elphinstone was 'by his own direction' buried in the new college (King's College), Aberdeen. Boece says that on his deathbed, when asked where he should be buried, he replied: 'My soul I have given long since to God, my body bury where you please.' I do not know the source of Keith's account.

Arms: Macdonald (*Armorial Seals*, No. 850) describes his round seal as follows: 'Under a canopy of three niches the Virgin and Child, with a bishop on the dexter and St. Kentigern on the sinister side. Beneath, a shield ensigned with a mitre, and bearing arms: A chevron between three boar heads erased.'

*ALEXANDER GORDON*, precentor of Moray (R.A. ii. 249); Boece (113); R.S.S. (i. 1045), and (in 1504), chaplain of Tallart [Tarlogie] in the collegiate church of Tain (*ib.*).

Spottiswoode (i. 209) thus summarises the account in Boece: 'The canons assembling according to their custom to elect a bishop in his (Elphinstone's) place, the Earl of Huntley, a man of great power in the north, came upon them unexpected, desiring that Alexander Gordon, his cousin, then chantor of Moray, might be chosen. The canons, not daring to refuse, did all give their consents. In the meantime was one James Ogilvy<sup>1</sup> presented thereto by the duke of Albany; and at Rome Robert Forman, dean of Glasgow, took a provision thereof from Pope Leo the Tenth.<sup>2</sup> Yet both these did resign their titles afterwards, at the duke of Albany his persuasion; Ogilvy having received in recompense the abbacy of Dryburgh,

<sup>1</sup> He was Master of Requests (R.M.S. iii. Nos. 9, 26, etc., 139).

<sup>2</sup> The words of Boece are: 'Summus vero pontifex, Leo Decimus, Robertum Formannum, Glasguensem decanum, Romae Aberdonensem declarat antistitem.'

and Forman yielding at the desire of Andrew Forman, his brother, then archbishop of St. Andrews, upon promise of the next place that should fall void. Thus, after some months' delay, Gordon was received and consecrated;<sup>1</sup> but he enjoyed the place a short time, for he died the third year after his consecration<sup>2</sup> 'of the hectic fever.'<sup>3</sup> We find Alexander, 18 March, 1515-6, elect and unconfirmed—Treasurer's Books referred to by Cosmo Innes (R.A. i. p. lii).<sup>4</sup> It is doubtful whether he was ever consecrated. He is elect and confirmed 2 Aug. 1516 (R.S.S. i. 2795), but the see is still said to be void.

Boece mentions that Ogilvy was at the time of the election acting as ambassador at the court of Louis XII. of France.<sup>5</sup>

Bishop Gordon died 30 June, 1518 (R.A. ii. 249); and was buried before the high altar of his cathedral (Boece, 114).<sup>6</sup>

Macdonald (*Armorial Seals*) does not record any seal.

'The Inventare of all the geyr left be bischoipe Alexander Gordoune servandis within the bischoippis palice of the

<sup>1</sup> Boece does not say that A. Gordon was consecrated. [But it may be noted that the papal records call him bishop (p. 137 *infra*).]

<sup>2</sup> Boece: 'tertio pontificatus sui anno' (E.A.V. 114).

<sup>3</sup> Boece: 'ethicam febrem vocant.'

<sup>4</sup> [See Tr. A. v. 76; but no Christian name is given, so the entry may refer either to Alexander or to one of his rivals. Alexander's provision was dated 6 June, 1516 (E.); and on 14 July he offered 1250 florins. Robert Forman had obtained a provision before 22 March, 1514-5, on which day he made a payment, afterwards credited by arrangement to Alexander (*Obligazioni* and *Soluzioni*).]

<sup>5</sup> James Ogilvy, 'abbot of Dryburgh and rector of Kinkell,' is said to have died in the year 1515 at Paris (R.A. ii. 213). But this year must be an error, for James Ogilvy, rector of Kinkell and commendator of Dryburgh, witnesses in Edinburgh 25 May, 1517 (R.M.S. iii. No. 170). His anniversary was kept at Aberdeen on 30 May. We find M. James Ogilvy commendator of Dryburgh 4 Feb. 1516-7 (R.S.S. i. 2861). His death was probably in 1518 [see Dryburgh, Pref. p. xxi].

<sup>6</sup> Keith places Gordon's death on 29 June, but he does not give his authority for the statement [but see Gordon's *Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 94].

sammyn, ressavit be bischoip Gawannis Dunbarris factouris for the tyme,' copied from the principal and attested by a notary public, 14 Nov. 1519, is printed in R.A. (ii. pp. 174-8), and gives a good picture of the furnishing of the palace.

**GAVIN DUNBAR**, dean of Moray,<sup>1</sup> archdeacon principal of St. Andrews,<sup>2</sup> clerk of the Rolls and Register.<sup>3</sup> He was a son of Alexander Dunbar, of Westfield, knight, and Elizabeth Sutherland (R.M.S. iii. No. 835). His mother is said to be a daughter of Alexander Sutherland of Duffus. He was paternal uncle of Gavin Dunbar, archbishop of Glasgow (Cambusk. No. 140). He was 'in philosophia pontificioque jure apprime eruditus' (Boece, E.A.V. 115).

In an *original* Great Seal Charter, preserved at the Register House (Cal. No. 873), 'Gavin, Bishop of Aberdeen, Clerk Register,' witnesses on 31 Oct. 1518. This style was doubtless based on the Crown's nomination to the pope. On 5 Nov. 1518 the pope 'providit in titulum Dno. Gavino Dunbar, archidiacono Ecclesiae S. Andreae, de ecclesia Aberdunen. in Scotia... vacante per obitum Dni. Alexandri, episcopi Aberdunen.... cum retentione regressus ad decanatum Moravien., et decreto vacationis alterius decanatus.' Revenues, 3000 florins; tax, 1250 florins (*Barberini*. B. i. 133).

Consecration: On 15 Feb. 1518-9 he appears in the sederunt of the Lords of Council as 'electus Aberdonensis,' while on 22 Feb. 1518-9 he appears as 'Episcopus Aberdonensis.' Dr. Maitland Thomson, who has called my attention to these facts, offers the probable suggestion that Dunbar

<sup>1</sup> He was dean of Moray before (perhaps some considerable time before) 24 Oct. 1487 (R.M. 257). [He obliged himself for the annate of the deanery 13 March, 1486-7, and again 22 April, 1488 (Roman Transcripts, Public Record Office).]

<sup>2</sup> He was presented [by the king] to the archdeaconry 10 Feb. 1503-4 (R.S.S. i. 1019); [and had papal provision thereof 31 May, 1504 (*Reg. Lat.* 1132. 141)]; but did not resign the deanery of Moray, as Cosmo Innes supposes (R.A. i. p. lii). He had taken his M.A. degree at St. Andrews in 1475 (D. Laing's notes to Knox's *Works*, i. 43).

<sup>3</sup> He was clerk of the Register in 1500 (D. Laing's notes *l.c.*) [or rather 1501 (Livingstone's *Guide to the Records*, p. 224)].

was consecrated on Sunday, 20 Feb. of that year. We find (R.A. i. 395) 14 Dec. 1529 in the eleventh year of his consecration. Dr. Thomson's conjecture is consistent with this.

The appearance of Gavin Dunbar as simply 'archdeacon of St. Andrews, and clerk of the Rolls, Register, and Council' as late as 23 Jan. 1520-1 among the witnesses in the Great Seal Register (iii. No. 196), and, previously, on 26 Nov. 1519 (*ib.* No. 187), seem to be examples (and others could be added) of more or less untrustworthiness in the lists of witnesses appended to R.M.S.

He is bishop of Aberdeen 23 Nov. 1520 (*Spalding Club Misc.* ii. 107), and 21 Nov. 1521 (Cambusk. No. 10).

Temporality: Dunbar had a gift of the temporality, during the vacancy of the see, 2 July, 1518 (R.S.S. i. 3018); that is, it will be seen, two days after the death of Gordon.

On 2 Sept. 1529 Dunbar founded two chaplaincies in the cathedral of Moray—for the souls of the king, his predecessors and successors, of Sir Alexander Dunbar, of Westfield, knight, and the Lady Elizabeth, his spouse, parents of the bishop, of four ecclesiastics (named), and of the bishop himself. It is witnessed, among others, by George, prior of Pluscarden. The charter (which is particularly interesting) is printed in R.M. (pp. 417, 418).

For other particulars, see Cosmo Innes (R.A. i. pp. liii-lvi).

Dunbar appears to have been clerk of the Register, etc., from 1501 to 1531-2 (see *Index Officiorum*, R.M.S. [ii. p. 1137, and] iii. p. 1054). He was in Parliament 26 April, 1531 (A.P. ii. 332).

Dunbar died at St. Andrews, 10 March, 1531-2 (R.A. ii. 211, 212). The Chronicle of Aberdeen (*Spalding Club Misc.* ii. 32) gives 16 March, 1531, *i.e.* 1531-2 (perhaps the day of his interment). The Kalendar of Ferne gives 9 March.<sup>1</sup> He was buried in the south transept of his cathedral, where his ruined monument may still be seen (Grub, ii. 5). A daily mass was said for his soul by the vicars choral of the cathedral 'for the

<sup>1</sup> His obit is placed at 5 March [1532] in the Kalendar of the Aberdeen Grey Friars (Bryce's *Grey Friars*, ii. 294).

building and construction of manses for the vicars choral at the great expense of the said reverend father' (R.A. ii. 214).

A fortnight before his death he founded, 23 Feb. 1531-2, a hospital within the chanony for twelve poor men, and endowed it with an annual income of £100 (R.A. i. 399-401; and R.M.S. iii. No. 1145).

He founded in the cathedral the altar of St. Katherine (R.A. ii. 198).

His splendid gifts of gold and silver vessels and other *ornamenta* to the cathedral are enumerated (R.A. ii. 184-6; so also *ornamenta* in brass (*ib.* 188-9) and textile fabrics (*ib.* 192-4).<sup>1</sup>

Arms: His seal represents under a canopy of three niches the Virgin and Child, with St. Nicholas on the dexter and a bishop on the sinister side. Beneath, a shield, ensigned with a mitre, bearing arms, three cushions lozengeways within a royal treasure (Macdonald, *Armorial Seals*, No. 807).

Bishop Dunbar had a coadjutor. On 14 Dec. 1529 a deed was tested by 'venerabili patre Georgio, priore de Pluscarte, coadjutore episcopi et successore.' He subscribes as 'Georgius, coadjutor episcopi Aberdonensis' (R.A. i. 394). This was

**GEORGE LEARMOND**, who predeceased Dunbar on 18 March, 1530-1 (*Kalend. Novae Farinae*. See Forbes' *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. xxviii). George was prior of Pluscarden in 1524 (see Macphail's *History of Pluscarden*, p. 119).

[His appointment by Pope Clement VII. as colleague and successor to Bishop Gavin is dated 20 May, 1529 (Lib. 23, Min. Br. n. 306, Vatican Archives).]

**WILLIAM STEWART**, dean of Glasgow, provost of Lincluden, high treasurer of Scotland (1530-7): *Index Offic.* (R.M.S. iii. p. 1063); [Tr. A. v. 292, and vi. 290].<sup>2</sup>

Cosmo Innes (R.A. i. pp. lvi-lviii) deals with this bishop at considerable length. Here it is unnecessary to do more than

<sup>1</sup> In Knox's 'History of the Reformation' (*Works*, i. 43, 44) we read of a daughter of the bishop married to Andro Balfour at St. Andrews.

<sup>2</sup> [Clement VII. wrote to James V. agreeing to his appointment, 15 June, 1532 (Lib. 41, Min. Br. n. 228); and William was provided by the pope 13 Nov. (E.), and as elect made a payment to the Camera, 28 Nov. 1532 (*Soluzioni*).]

repeat that he was a son of Sir Thomas Stewart of Minto. He is said to have been born about 1479 in Glasgow. His various preferments will be found in Cosmo Innes' sketch. His election must have been not long after the death of his predecessor, for he sat in Parliament as 'elect of Aberdeen,' 17 May, 1532 (A.P. ii. 334).<sup>1</sup>

Consecration : 26 April, 1539, is in the seventh year (R.M.S. iii. No. 1980), therefore, if this be correctly stated, he was consecrated before 26 April, 1533. The perverse habit in Keith of not recording the day and month, when giving the year of consecration, reduces much the value of his references when minute accuracy is sought. Stewart witnesses only as treasurer on 8 March, 1532-3 (R.M.S. iii. No. 1268). If this may be trusted (but see what has been said above as to the untrustworthy character of some of the entries of witnesses in R.M.S.), his consecration would be between 8 March and 26 April, 1533.<sup>2</sup> He appears in Parliament as 'bishop of Aberdeen,' 28 July, 1533 (A.P. ii. 336).

Licences were granted under the Privy Seal (15 Nov. 1544) to William, bishop of Aberdeen, to resign the see in favour of Mr. William Gordon, chancellor of Moray, and to the said Mr. William to resign his chancellorship to anyone whom the said bishop should name (R.S.S. xviii. 89, 90).

On 28 April, 1545, a letter in the name of Queen Mary is written from Stirling to Paul III., from which it appears that 'about a month previously' a request had been made to the pope that the noble youth, William Gordon, might be appointed as coadjutor to William, bishop of Aberdeen, suffering from old age and ill-health, and that shortly after the bishop had died (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* ii. 250).

For the time of Stewart's death, beside the above letter, we have Lesley (*De Reb. Gest.*, 478) saying that he died in April, 1545, and followed by Spottiswoode (i. 210); and, perhaps

<sup>1</sup>[On 24 May, 1532, he, still styled provost of Lincluden, had a gift of the temporality of the see of Aberdeen during vacancy (R.S.S. ix. 156).]

<sup>2</sup>[In *Acta Dominorum Concilii* he is styled elect 22 March, 1532-3, and bishop 10 April, 1533.]

more precisely, in the obits of the Franciscan friars of Aberdeen we have Stewart's obit at 10 April, 1545 (*Spalding Club Misc.* i. 66). We must remember, however, that an obit was not necessarily kept on the day of the death of the person commemorated. 10 April, however, falls in very well with the statement in the queen's letter. It is worth noticing that there was a feu-charter granted by the bishop on 8 April, 1545 (R.A. i. 429).

Arms: A fess chequy surmounted of a bend [sometimes] engrailed (Stewart of Minto) (*Macdonald's Armorial Seals*, Nos. 2667-9).<sup>1</sup>

**WILLIAM GORDON**, chancellor of Moray, fourth son of Alexander, third earl of Huntly (Cosmo Innes, R.A. i. lviii). Studied first at Aberdeen, afterwards for a long time at Paris; was parson of Clatt in Aberdeenshire (Spottiswoode, i. 210). In March or early in April, 1545, Mary wrote to Paul III. asking him to appoint Gordon as a coadjutor to Stewart now worn out with age and sickness. On 28 April she wrote again to the pope, stating that Stewart had died, and asking him not to appoint till he had heard from her (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* ii. 250). Provided to the see by Pope Paul III. on 17 May, 1546. The consistorial entry describes the see as vacant by the death of William Stewart, late bishop of Aberdeen. Gordon is described as 'a clerk of the diocese of Moray, or of another diocese.' The reservations from the episcopal income are a pension of 1000 marks to John Hamilton, son of James, earl, and guardian (*tutor*) of the queen, as soon as he has received the clerical character (that is, probably, the first tonsure), and another pension of 500 marks to David Paniter, clerk of the diocese of St. Andrews. Dispensations are granted for age to Hamilton, and for defect of birth to Paniter. Hamilton is said to be in the fifth year of his age. The 'fructus' of the see are stated

<sup>1</sup> Letters of legitimation were passed under the Great Seal, 25 Sept. 1542, in favour of John Stewart, treasurer of Aberdeen, bastard, natural son of William, bishop of Aberdeen (R.M.S. iii. No. 2789). A niece of the bishop is mentioned as married to John Stewart, son and heir-apparent of the late Alan Stewart of Cardonald (*ib.* No. 3052).

as 2000 florins, and the 'taxa' as 1200 florins (*Barberini*. B. i. 133-4). On 16 Sept. 1546 James Salmond, ' nomine Wilhelmi electi Aberdonen.,' offers 1250 florins of gold (*Obligazioni*. *ib.*). Father Innes seems to have seen this entry: see the extract from his MS. notes given in R.A. i. p. lviii. Gordon's promotion was due to Cardinal Beaton (Lesley, *Bannat*. *Edit.* p. 188).

On 14 Oct. 1545 he is bishop-elect of Aberdeen and chancellor of Moray (R.M.S. iii. No. 3261). He is still elect in July and August, 1546 (A.P. ii. 467, 471). The 'postulatus Abirdonensis' is present at the Privy Council 19 Dec. 1546 (P.C.R. i. 57), but 'episcopus Aberdonensis' appears on 28 March, 1547 (*ib.* 67).

He was consecrated sometime in the year beginning 13 Dec. 1546, for he describes 13 Dec. 1552 as in the sixth year of his consecration (R.A. i. p. lx), and after 19 Dec. and before 28 March, 1547 (see above). He was in Paris in Sept. and Dec. 1552 (*ib.* p. lx). He was 'agens in remotis' and Robert, bishop of Orkney, his vicar-general in Jan. 1552-3 (R.A. i. 456-7). He was in Parliament 12 April, 1554 (A.P. ii. 603). For further particulars, see Cosmo Innes (R.A. Preface, pp. lx-lxvi).

Gordon died in Aug. 1577 (*R. Sec. Sig.* xlv. 50); on 6 Aug. 1577 (Chronicle of Aberdeen printed in *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, ii. 46).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Alexander Gordoun of Strathoune' was his brother german (R.A. i. 445). Alexander Gordoun, senior, of Strathoun, was paternal uncle of George [fourth] earl of Huntly (R.M.S. iii. 2248). Lesley (p. 478) says the bishop was paternal uncle of the earl of Huntly (*i.e.* George, fourth earl), and adds that the appointment of W. Gordon to the see was at the instance of the cardinal, while the earl of Angus had striven to get the appointment for others.

The counsel of the dean and chapter given to the bishop 5 Jan. 1558-9 was first transcribed by Father Innes, 25 Jan. 1728, and communicated to Keith, who printed it in his *History of the Affairs of Church and State, etc.* It will be found also in the Preface to R.A. pp. lxi-lxv; and copied from the original in the *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, iv. 57-9. His lordship is urged 'to schew gude and edificative example, in speciale, in removing and dischargeing himself of company of the gentillwoman be quhom he is gretlie slanderit.'

At Leith, 23 Jan. 1571-2, the third of the bishopric of Aberdeen (£551 5s. 8d.) was assigned to the support of the king's house (P.C.R. ii. 112).

At Perth, 23 Feb. 1572-3 (Morton being regent), William, bishop of Aberdeen, receives a pardon, together with Alexander, bishop of Galloway, and others for any crimes done in the common cause since 15 June, 1572 (P.C.R. ii. 196).

Arms: quarterly, 1st, three boar heads couped; 2nd, three lion heads erased; 3rd, three crescents within a royal treasure; 4th, three fraises. On another seal of Bishop W. Gordon the first and second quarters (as given above) are interchanged (Macdonald, *Armorial Seals*, Nos. 1092, 1093).

For notice of the bishop's daughter Marjorie, and (apparently) several other children, see Cosmo Innes (R.A. i. pp. lxv, lxvi). In June, 1577 (shortly before his death), Gordon gave collation of the vicarage of Aberdeen to a Protestant reader (Grub, ii. 203).

## The Bishops of Moray

**GREGORY.** We find a certain 'Gregory, bishop,' (see unnamed) witnessing with 'Cormac, bishop,' (see unnamed) the foundation charter of the priory of canons regular at Scone (Scone, 2). This monastery was founded in 1114 (Sc. v. 37), and the church of Scone was handed over to the canons in 1115 (M.).<sup>1</sup> Probably this is the same Gregory as Gregory, 'episcopus de Moravia,' who attests a grant of Alexander I. to Scone (Scone, 4) which must be assigned to 1124, for the charter is attested by 'Robert, elect of St. Andrews' (elected in 1124, in which year on 25 April King Alexander died : M.). The year 1124 seems to be the first year in which a 'bishop of Moray' is mentioned. 'Gregory, bishop of Moray,' attests a charter of King David, granted with the consent of his wife Matilda, who died in the year ending 22 April, 1131 (Sc. v. 43 ; Dunferml. 4). This is confirmed a little later (*ib.* 7).

I concur with Sir Archibald C. Lawrie, when he writes : 'It would be rash to say positively that there was not a bishop of Moray before 1124, but it is permissible to say that there is no good evidence that there was' (*Early Scottish Charters*, 283).

**WILLIAM (I).** We find him in King David's († 1153) reign witnessing a grant by the king of the church of Clacmannan to 'the abbot and canons of Strivelin' (Cambusk. No. 57) ; and with Edward, bishop of Aberdeen, and Andrew, bishop of Caithness, witnessing a charter of David to St. Andrews

<sup>1</sup> For the date of the founding of Scone see Dr. J. Wilson's article on the 'Foundation of the Austin Priories of Nostel and Scone' in the *Scottish Historical Review*, Jan. 1910.

(R.P.S.A. 184), and in King Malcolm's time after 19 Dec. 1154, when Christian, bishop of Galloway (witness), was consecrated (Dunferml. 22). See also for King Malcolm's time R.P.S.A. 198, 199, 201, 203; Kelso, 287, 299, 320; Dunferml. 24. W[illelmus] is 'episcopus Mureuensis' in the Bull of Adrian IV. dated 27 Feb. 1155 (best text printed in Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils*, II. i. 231-2). He witnesses a charter of Herbert, bishop of Glasgow (1147-64), with Ernald, abbot of Kelso (1147 to 13 Nov. 1160), and William, abbas de Hedenburgh (*i.e.* Holyrood), who was elected abbot in 1152 (C.S.C.; Melrose, i. 8). He witnesses a charter of Ernald, bishop of St. Andrews as 'bishop of Moray and legate of the Apostolic See' (R.P.S.A. 128). The latter designation fixes the date of the charter as 1160 or 1161. William went with Nicholas, chamberlain of King Malcolm, to Rome in 1159, to complain of the usurpations of York, and returned in 1160 as legate of the Apostolic See. In 1160 he consecrated Ernald (Arnald) bishop of St. Andrews (M.). *Chron. S. Crucis* places William's visit to Rome in 1158.<sup>1</sup> William died in 1161 (probably meaning 1161-2) (M.); 24 Jan. 1162 (C.S.C.).

The see was void in 1164 (Sc. viii. 15).

**FELIX.** A charter of Richard, bishop of Moray (see below), confirms to the abbey of Kinloss certain lands 'ex dono Willelmi episcopi et concessione successorum ejus Felicis et Simonis episcoporum Moravie' (Kinloss, p. 112). A charter of King William to 'Willelmo filio Fresekin,' referred to by Dalrymple (*Collections*, Preface, lvi-lvii) and said by him to be 'penes D. Kath. Dominam de Cardross, Nept. et Her. Dom. Lud. Steuart, Advocati,' refers to Felix.<sup>2</sup> Cosmo Innes has placed Felix in his list (R.M. xii.), adding '1162-1171.' He could hardly

<sup>1</sup> [The Bull of Pope Alexander III. (Adv. Lib. 15. 1. 19. No. 2), which announces that William is returning to Scotland as papal legate, and signifies the pope's willingness to translate him to St. Andrews if the prior and chapter elect him and the king consents, is dated Anagni, 27 Nov., evidently 1159.]

<sup>2</sup> [Felix is one of the witnesses. There is a copy of the charter, which was granted between 1166 and 1171, in a MS. titled 'Cartæ Variæ' in the Library of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries.]

have meant that his episcopate extended during these years, for, as noted above, the see was vacant in 1164.

**SIMON (I.) DE TONEI** (Toeny, Toney). He had been a monk of Melrose, then it would seem abbot of Cogeshale. According to the Chronicle of Cogeshale (in the Cottonian MS. *Vesp. D. x.*) Simon de Toney returned to Melrose in 1168 (Note to M. p. 84). He is the first bishop in the old Moray list (R.M. 359), where under the year 1171 we read 'Symon de Toeny, monk of Melrose, abbat of Coggeston, was elected bishop of Moray.' He was consecrated 23 Jan. 117[1-]2 at St. Andrews (M.). This date is also given in the Chronicle of Cogeshale already referred to.<sup>1</sup> In 1176 Simon, bishop of Moray, was at the Council of Northampton (Wilkins' *Concilia*, i. 483-4). Charter evidence (undated) in R.M. 4, with Matthew of Aberdeen (2 April, 1172 to 20 Aug. 1199) and Samson of Brechin († *circ.* 1178). Simon died 17 Sept. 1184 (M.). The year is the same in the old Moray list of names (R.M. 359) and in Sc. (viii. 33).

Here, so far as our information goes, there would seem to have been a vacancy of the see.

**RICHARD.** One of the clerks of William the Lion was elected 1 March, 1187, being Sunday, and consecrated on the 15 March, 'in passione Domini,' at St. Andrews by Hugh, bishop of that church (M.). These dates bear the test of examination. Passion Sunday being 15 March, Easter would fall on 29 March. And on that day it did fall in the year 1187. There is an undated charter of King William witnessed by 'Richard elect of Moray' (Scone, No. 33). It is seldom indeed that an undated charter can be so closely fixed as to time. The place is Crail.

We find 'R. bishop of Moray' in the year of the nativity of Alexander II. (year beginning 24 Aug. 1198) (Arbroath, i. 103). Richard witnesses with Jocelin, bishop of Glasgow († 11 March, 1199), a charter of King William (Erroll Papers—*Spalding Misc.* ii. 304). He was bishop of Moray in 1201 (R.G. 81).

<sup>1</sup> Coggeshall is in Essex, and is said to have been erected by King Stephen.

Richard died in 1203 (M. ; and old list of names R.M. 359).<sup>1</sup>

**BRICE** (Bricius),<sup>2</sup> prior of Lesmahago.<sup>3</sup>

Succeeded in 1203 (M. ; and old list R.M. 359). A letter was addressed to him by Innocent III. dated 17 Sept. 1207 (A.P. i. 391-2; C.P.R. i. 29) appointing him a judge-delegate in a dispute between the monastery of Melrose and the earl of Dunbar. He is present *in curia regis* at Selkirk in 1208 (A.P. i. 390-2). He went with William Malvoisine, bishop of St. Andrews, and Walter, bishop of Glasgow, to the General Council (Lateran IV.) in 1215, and after the close of the Council returned to Scotland (M.). The Lateran Council sat from 11 Nov. to 30 Nov. 1215.

In 1218 Brice again visited Rome together with Walter, bishop of Glasgow, and Adam, bishop of Caithness, with a view to obtaining absolution from the excommunication to which they had been subjected by the legate Cardinal Gualo for the line taken against England in the wars between Alexander and John of England. This, which hitherto we have learned only from the chroniclers, is now confirmed by a mandate (5 Nov. 1218) to the chapter, clergy, and people of Moray to obey their bishop, whom the pope, Honorius III., had absolved from the offences which had caused his excommunication during the time of the troubles in the kingdoms of England and Scotland. The pope states that Brice had solemnly denied that he had celebrated divine offices during the time of the interdict (T. No. 14).

On 30 Jan. 1218-9 Pope Honorius III. issued a mandate to the abbots of Cupar, Scone, and Dunfermline on information from the archdeacon and chancellor of Moray to inquire and report whether the bishop seeks not only *lac et lana* from the flock, but extorts sometimes an eighth and sometimes a third of

<sup>1</sup> In Arbroath (i. 262) we find in a charter assigned by the editor to 1199 (together with 'W. elect of Glasgow' and 'John elect of Aberdeen') 'Hugone episcopo Moravie.' Unless there were a coadjutor of this name 'Hugone' must be an error.

<sup>2</sup> Styled Bricius Douglas in Wilkins' *Concilia*, i. 532.

<sup>3</sup> 'Brice' appears as dean in three charters of Bishop Richard (R.M.), but it is impossible to be confident in identifying him with the Brice afterwards bishop.

their revenues, exacts procurations although he makes no visitations, extorts money from ordinands which he spends on women of ill fame, dissolves lawful marriage for money, and tolerates unlawful ones (T. No. 22).

Several (undated) charters of Brice are in R.M.

Brice died in 1222 (M. ; old list in R.M. 359 ; Sc. ix. 37).

Bishop Brice had brothers named Alexander and Henry (R.M. 456 ; Arbroath, 141, 142, 144). For other brothers see *Scots Peerage*, iii. 134-5.

**ANDREW (I.) DE MORAVIA.**<sup>1</sup> After the death, 13 Dec. 1213, of Reinald, bishop of Ross, 'Master Andrew of Moravia' was elected to succeed him ; but he, having obtained leave from the pope, humbly resigned this honour (M.). He is doubtless to be identified with the 'Master Andrew of Moravia,' who in 1222 succeeded Brice in the see of Moray (M. ; also Sc. ix. 37). He is perhaps to be identified with Andrew, rector of the church of St. Peter at Duffus in Bishop Brice's time (R.M. 43).

Honorius III. addresses the 'elect of Moray' (not named) on 12 May, 1223 (R.M. 63). Andrew was consecrated before 10 April, 1224. See letter of Honorius III. (R.M. 63, 64).

Andrew's cathedral at Elgin was founded 19 July, 1224 (*ib.* 64, 65).

There is a letter of Pope Gregory which (if Gregory be Gregory IX.) is dated 13 April, 1231, addressed to the dean and chapter of Moray, declaring that the election of the bishop of Moray should be free, and forbidding them to carry the pastoral staff and other insignia of the bishop to a secular court from which they would be received. The letter is a rescript in reply to a petition of the dean and chapter (R.M. 87). It looks as though Andrew was ill, and an election expected.

Andrew was principal consecrator of William de Bondington, bishop of Glasgow, in the cathedral of Glasgow, 11 Sept. 1233

<sup>1</sup> According to Macfarlane (*Genealogical Collections*, Scottish History Society, ii. 502) he was a son of Friskin de Moravia, lord of Duffus, and a brother of Gilbert, bishop of Caithness. [According to *Scots Peerage*, ii. 122, he was son of Hugh and great grandson of Friskin de Moravia ; Gilbert, bishop of Caithness, being only a distant cousin at most. See Caithness.]

(M. ; cf. Sc. ix. 48). He witnesses a charter of Alexander II. at Newbattle, 12 March, in the nineteenth year of the reign (*i.e.* 1232-3) (Newbattle, 132).

Andrew subscribes, 4 Sept. 1240, as bishop 'et canonicus de Fotherueys' (Forres)<sup>1</sup> (R.M. 107); and he was witness on 18 Sept. 1242 (R.A. i. 16).

Andrew died in 1242 (M. ; Sc. ix. 60) : probably towards the end of the year, for M. enters many obits before his, and his immediately precedes a notice of thunder on Dec. 16. Andrew was alive after the beginning of July, 1242 (R.M. 107-10) ; and (see above) on 18 Sept. 1242.<sup>2</sup>

It is probably due to a transcriptional error that we find 'Alexandro episcopo Moraviensi' witnessing a charter of King Alexander at Edinburgh, 25 Aug. 1236 (Paisley, 428).

**SIMON (II.)**, dean of Moray. The old list (R.M. 359), after recording the death of Andrew, merely adds, 'cui successit Symon episcopus.' He was only 'elect' on 3 March, 1243-4, when Innocent IV. sent a mandate to the bishop of Caithness and Master Martin, clerk of the papal *camera*, to inquire into the election of the dean of Moray (unnamed) to that see, and, if they found the election to be canonical, to confirm it, and receive the oath of fealty to the Roman See (C.P.R. i. 207).

He was bishop of Moray on 4 Feb. and 20 March, 1248-9 (R.M. 277, 114). In the former of these cases the text reads 1348, but this must be an error for 1248. See also Arbroath, i. 170-1.

Simon died in 1251 R.M. 359).<sup>3</sup>

It is stated by Matthew Paris (Rolls edit. v. 288) that 'about this time' (*i.e.* 1252)

<sup>1</sup>[ Fotherueys ought rather to be identified with Fernes (R.M. p. xvii). The lordship of Fothirves became the barony of Ardclach (R.M. 218, 422).]

<sup>2</sup> Charter evidence in Arbroath, Cambuskenneth, Balmerino, etc., for Andrew, bishop of Moray. He speaks of Simon, Richard, and Brice as his predecessors (R.M. 24).

<sup>3</sup> We find in 1232 in the time of Bishop Andrew the subscription to a writ by 'Symon decanus Sancte Trinitatis de Elgyn' (R.M. 88). This was probably the Simon afterwards bishop.

Master *RALPH* (Radulphus), canon of Lincoln, was elected 'in episcopum Morefensem in Scotia.' Presumably his election was not confirmed. There is nothing improbable in this election. The relations of the cathedrals of Lincoln and Elgin were friendly and intimate. The latter had borrowed its constitution from the former, and canons of Elgin had at an earlier time visited Lincoln.

**ARCHIBALD**, dean of Moray. Consecrated bishop in 1253 (R.M. 359) before the end of November. Archibald (for 'Andree' in the rubric is obviously an error for 'Archibaldi'; the text of the writ reading simply 'A. permissione divina Moraviensis episcopus') enacts an ordinance and uses his seal, 22 Nov. 1253 (R.M. 117).

On 3 Dec. 1253 Innocent IV. gives Archibald, bishop of Moray, the privilege that he shall not be summoned by papal or legatine letters, unless they make mention of the privilege (C.P.R. i. 294).

Archibald having apparently confirmed the election to the deanery of A[dam] de Dun, while Pope Innocent IV. had previously provided Nicholas de Hedun to that dignity, fears that he had incurred excommunication. He pétitions Pope Alexander IV., and is by him absolved, 22 Dec. 1255 (*ib.* 325).

All the Scottish bishops were summoned to the General Council at Lyons; but a council at Perth in 1273 enacted that the bishops of Dunkeld and Moray ought to remain in the kingdom 'pro statu ecclesiae conservando' (Sc. x. 33).

Archibald was at the convention of Brigham in 1289-90 (A.P. i. 441).

On 1 Sept. 1291 Archibald, bishop of Moray, is granted by Nicholas IV. a faculty to dispose by testament of his personal goods (C.P.R. i. 535).

We have a charter of his dated 30 Oct. 1294 (R.M. 145).

Died 9 Dec. 1298 (R.M. 359), and was buried in the choir of his cathedral (K.). His episcopate extended to over forty-five years.<sup>1</sup>

At some time (apparently after 1274) Archibald, bishop of Moray, granted forty days' indulgence to those who would hear the canons' sermons at Lincoln Cathedral (Wordsworth,

<sup>1</sup> Charter evidence is abundant.

*Medieval Services*, p. 306). [He had granted indulgences to visitors to Durham Cathedral 1 May, in the third year of his episcopate (1256 ?) (Durham Misc. Charters, No. 822) and 27 March, 1268 (*Rites of Durham*, 154). His (broken) seal appended to the latter document is engraved in R.M.]

**DAVID (I.) DE MORAVIA**, canon of Moray ; elect, probably early in 1299 ; consecrated 28 June, 1299 (R.M. 359). T. (No. 364) furnishes an epistle of Boniface VIII., dated 30 June, 1299, addressed to 'David, bishop of Moray.' It recounts how the dean and chapter of Moray, on the death of Archibald, after due notice to all concerned assembled for the election of his successor. The election was conducted *per viam scrutinii*. Thirteen voted for David (canon of the cathedral), four for the dean, one for John (the archdeacon), and three for Henry (the chancellor). Thereupon the dean, by the special mandate and the express consent of the whole chapter, elected David as their bishop. Afterwards the dean and chapter, after executing the deed, known as the 'decree' of the election, presented it to the pope by the hands of two canons (named) of the cathedral, and begged the pope's confirmation. The form was examined in the usual manner, and it appeared that there was a defect (the nature of which is not stated), on account of which the effect of the election was impeded. Thereupon David 'led by wise counsel' spontaneously resigned, and the pope 'apostolice potestatis plenitudine' provided David to the see, and caused him to receive consecration by M[atthew],<sup>1</sup> bishop of Porto. The letter is dated from Anagnia [Anagni, south-east of Rome]. This epistle falls in with the statement made in the ancient list of the names of the bishops of Moray (R.M. p. 359) : 'Cui (Archibaldo) successit David de Moravia consecratus in episcopum apud Agnaniam (*sic*) tempore Bonifacii pape octavi in vigilia apostolorum Petri et Pauli (28 Junii) m. cc. nonagesimo nono.' Cosmo Innes (Preface to R.M. p. xiii.) says he was consecrated by Pope Boniface VIII., which, as we see from T., is true only in the sense that *quod fecit per alium fecit per se*. K. expresses himself more accurately (p. 140) ; but he is in error in making David's consecration at Avignon.

<sup>1</sup> Matthew de Aquasparta cardinal-bishop of Porto, 1291-1302 (E. i. 35).

In Aug. 1306 his capture was much desired by Edward I. (B.C. ii. No. 1820). David having been charged by Edward I. with complicity in the murder of John Comyn, was excommunicated and fled to Orkney, whereupon Edward wrote to Haco, king of Norway, requesting him to order the bishop to be seized and sent to him, 6 March, 1306-7 (B.C. ii. No. 1907).

David (with other Scottish bishops) was excommunicated by Pope John XXII. as an abettor of Robert Bruce, 17 June, 1320 (T. No. 427); summoned to Rome 16 Aug. 1320 (T. No. 432). The pope sends a mandate to the bishops of Winchester and Dunblane to excommunicate David and other bishops (Dunkeld and Aberdeen), 23 May, 1322 (T. No. 445).

He witnesses a charter of Robert I. 10 Jan. 'anno regni vicesimo,' i.e. 10 Jan. 1325-6 (Melrose, 328) which is impossible, unless there is an error either here or in the date of his death.<sup>1</sup>

He died 9 Jan., 'circa galli cantum,' 1325 (R.M. 359), that is 1325-6.<sup>2</sup> His death is placed by K. (without citing authority) on 10 Jan. 1326.

**JOHN (I.) DE PYLMORE**,<sup>3</sup> canon of Ross.<sup>4</sup> The ancient list of names (R.M. p. 360) gives his consecration at Avignon 30 March, 1326. An epistle of John XXII. to 'John, bishop of Moray,' dated Avignon 31 March, 1326, recounts that during the episcopate of David he, the pope, had thought fit to reserve to his own disposition the see of Moray, *ea vice*. Nothing is said of an election having been attempted by the chapter. The pope provides John, then a canon of Ross, in priest's orders, to the see and caused him to receive consecration

<sup>1</sup> [The Melrose charter is printed from the original.]

<sup>2</sup> Some charters of David will be found in R.M., one dated at Elgin 23 March, 1309-10 (p. 149). He is found in 1308, 1309-10, 1312 (A.P. i. 477, 460, 463); in 1312-3 (Arbroath, i. 212, ii. 535).

<sup>3</sup> I should suppose that it is by an error of transcription that this bishop appears as John de Eglemore in Sc. xiv. 25.

<sup>4</sup> According to a charter dated the feast of St. Valentine (14 Feb.), 1326 (i.e. 1326-7), he was a son of Adam de Pylmore, burgess of Dundee. The charter was formerly in the possession of Walter Macfarlane, the antiquary (see K.). He seems to have been a brother of Richard de Pylmore, bishop of Dunkeld.

‘per venerabilem fratrem nostrum Petrum episcopum Penestrinum’ (T. No. 460).<sup>1</sup>

The Moray list of names (R.M. 360) describes him as ‘electus Rossensis per provisionem domini Johannis pape XXII, per quem consecratus est in episcopum Moraviensem.’ But there is no necessary inconsistency, as the words perhaps meant no more than by the pope’s command.

He died in the castle of Spynie on (28 Sept.) the vigil of St. Michael the Archangel, 1362 (R.M. 360).

He witnesses in Edinburgh 4 March, 1327-8 (R.M.S. ii. No. 3717). The monastic and other chartularies supply ample evidence: see particularly R.M. 151, 288 (for 1328); 298 (for 1351); 304 (for 1360); 308 (for 8 Aug. 1361). For 19 March, 1347-8 (*Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan*, edit. 1903, p. 40).

He as bishop appears as an occasional petitioner to the Apostolic See. From one of these petitions we learn that when the Pope Clement VI. (then Petrus Rogerii) was archbishop of Rouen, Pylmore was his vicar in spirituals (C.P.R. Pet. i. 76). Peter Rogerii was archbishop of Rouen from 14 Dec. 1330 to his promotion to the cardinalate, 18 Dec. 1338 (E. i. 447 and 43).

John de Pylmore attempted to improve the port ‘de Lossy alias de Spyni’ by deepening the channel (R.M. 192).

**ALEXANDER (I.) BUR** (Burre, Bar, Buer), doctor of decrees (Sc. xiv. 25); archdeacon of Moray 13 Aug. 1359 (R.M. 368); canon of Ross (see below); canon of Dunkeld (C.P.R. Pet. i. 397).

He was canonically elected (Sc. xiv. 25).

‘Cui (Johanni) successit dominus Alexander Bur, doctor decretorum et licenciatus in legibus, consecratus in episcopum Avinione per dominum Urbanum papam V. sabbato iiiii. temporum ante natale Domini, m. ccc. lxii’ (R.M. 360).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The last word is doubtless for ‘Prenestinum’; and the prelate referred to is Peter de Prato (Després), (cardinal bishop of Preneste, who died at Avignon, 30 Sept. 1361. Ciaconius, tom. ii. col. 416; E. i. 36).

<sup>2</sup> To determine this date the reader will remember that the ember-days (or days *quatuor temporum*) before Christmas are the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday next after St. Lucy’s Day, i.e.

Unfortunately T. here fails us.

From C.P.R. Pet. we learn what goes to confirm the accuracy of the date of the old Moray list. On 26 Dec. 1362 the pope at Avignon grants the petition of Eustace de Invernys, licentiate of Civil Law and scholar of Canon Law, for the canonry and prebend of Ross on their voidance by the consecration of Alexander Buer, bishop elect of Moray (i. 390). The word 'elect' is not conclusive that there was a process of election by the chapter of Moray, for sometimes when the choice was only that of the pope the word is used. But we find that Alexander, 'bishop elect and confirmed of Moray,' was a petitioner, which language raises the presumption that the canonical process of election by the chapter and confirmation by the pope was followed in this case (*ib.* i. 394).<sup>1</sup>

The following notices of Bur from the Petitions are deserving of a place here. In 1350 Alexander Bur, licentiate in Civil Law, petitions for the confirmation of the papal provision made to him, at the instance of the king and queen of Scots, of the canonry, prebend, and archdeaconry of Moray, vacant by the death of the previous holder, or else a provision for him anew of the same (i. 199). In 1354 he is archdeacon of Moray. He describes himself as licentiate in Canon and Civil Law of Orleans, and examined and approved by the doctors of the

13 Dec. Now in the year 1362 the Sunday Letter was B. From this we see that St. Lucy's Day in that year fell on a Tuesday; therefore the Saturday on which Bur was consecrated was the 17 Dec. If St. Lucy's Day in this year had fallen on Wednesday, the date of the consecration would have been 23 Dec. Keith, in error, says Bur was consecrated 'on the Saturday before Christmas' (p. 141). Eubel (i. 366) follows K. in this error. [The entry in R.M. must be in error; for 23 Dec. 1362 is the date of the provision (*Reg. Avin.* 155. 23).]

<sup>1</sup>The dates of the petitions themselves are not recorded in the papal Registers, as exhibited by Mr. Bliss, but only the dates at which they were dealt with by the pope. This petition was dealt with after Bur's consecration, namely 4 Jan. 1362-3. Another petitioner for benefices to be voided by Bur's consecration speaks of him as 'bishop elect and confirmed of Moray' (p. 397). [The provision makes no mention of election by the chapter.]

Canon Law in Paris. He petitions for a canonry in Ross with reservation of a prebend, notwithstanding that he has the arch-deaconry of Moray and a prebend of Moray, value five marks (i. 256).

We find Alexander, bishop of Moray, at Elgin on 20 Oct. 1363 (R.M. 311), and subsequent charter evidence is abundant in R.M. He appears in public records from 24 July, 1365 (A.P. i. 496), to 3 April, 1373 (*ib.* 562), inclusive.

It was in Bur's old age that Elgin Cathedral, the church of St. Giles at Elgin, eighteen fair manses of the canons and chaplains, and the whole town were burned by the Wolf of Badenoch (17 June, 1390). How deeply he felt the blow may be gathered from his letter to King Robert III. (R.M. 204). His interest in the fabric of his cathedral was shown from the date of his consecration to the see, for we have a petition of his to Urban V. (dealt with 7 Feb. 1362-3), in which he declares that 'the sumptuous structure' had by neglect and hostile incursions fallen into ruin, 'and whereas the men of the realm cannot help to restore it unless they are incited by heavenly rewards, he prays for confirmation of all its privileges and immunities, and for seven years and seven *quadragene* of indulgence to penitents who visit it on the feast of Holy Trinity.' The pope grants the indulgence for one year and one *quadragena*, and directs the privileges to be exhibited (C.P.R. Pet. i. 401).

Bur sits in his court 21 Sept. 1393 (R.M. 129).

Alexander Bur died, in the castle of Spynie, 15 May, 1397 (R.M. 360).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bur found much difficulty in paying the fees demanded by the papal court for his promotion. Not having made payment within the prescribed term, he incurred sentence of suspension, excommunication, and interdict, which were remitted on his making a part payment, and he was allowed one year more from the next Michaelmas to complete his payment. On 7 Sept. 1364 he made part payment (namely 546 gold florins, 21 shillings and 8 pence of money current at Avignon) of his *commune servitium*, and 27 gold florins, 8 shillings and 2 pence as part payment of four *minuta servitia* (R.M. 161-4).

The Register of Moray is particularly rich in references to the episcopate of Bur. King David II. granted him permission to

**WILLIAM (II.) DE SPYNY**, doctor of Decrees and master of Arts.<sup>1</sup>

In a letter of Benedict XIII. (anti-pope) to Robert III., dated Avignon, 28 Sept. 1397, we learn that William had been promoted, in consistory, on 1 Sept. 1397 (R.M. 207).<sup>2</sup> He was consecrated, apparently at Avignon, on 16 Sept. 1397 (*ib.* 360). 16 Sept. was a Sunday. The king grants the temporality under the Great Seal 16 Jan. 1397-8 (*ib.* 207-8).

He is at Elgin 1 Aug. 1398 (*ib.* 327).

He does not appear in Parliament.

On 3 July, 1402, Alexander of the Isles, third son of the lord of the Isles, plundered the cathedral of all its goods, and burned a great part of the town of Elgin. On 6 Oct. following he again visited the town, and having been informed that he had incurred the sentence of excommunication for having violated the canonry, which from of old had enjoyed the privilege of sanctuary, he humbly submitted himself, and prayed that he might be absolved. Thereupon Bishop William absolved him, first before the doors of the church, and afterwards before the great altar. Alexander offered a great candle (*magnum tortitum*) with gold infixed; and besought that a cross with a bell should be erected at the place where the immunity of sanctuary began on the side of the town (*ib.* 382-3).

William died in the canonry of Elgin 2 Aug. 1406 (*ib.* 360).

exercise jurisdiction in cases which in strictness were reserved to the king's justiciars (164-6). On 7 March, 1381-2, King Robert II. also granted to him a (temporary) power to try by himself or his bailie all crimes (even those pertaining to the Crown) committed by men inhabiting his lands (R.M. 215, 216). Bur was present at the coronation of Robert II. (172); and there are many notices of much interest.

<sup>1</sup> There is a William de Spyny, presumably this person, who was a canon of Moray in 1363 (R.M. 313), and in 1369 (*ib.* 168); precentor of Moray in 1378 (*ib.* 183); dean of Aberdeen and precentor of Moray in 1388 (*ib.* 351). [He graduated in Paris both as determinant and licentiate in 1355, and 'commenced' the same year; and was procurator of the English nation in 1357 (*Auct. Chart. Univ. Paris.* i. 178, 180, 184, 211).]

<sup>2</sup> See also for this date *E. i.* 366.

**JOHN (II.) DE INNES**, dean of Ross, bachelor in Canon and Civil Law: consecrated at Avignon by Benedict XIII. (anti-pope) 23 Jan. 1406 [*i.e.* 1406-7] (R.M. 360). Eubel says 'elect, provided,' and gives 12 Jan. 1406-7 as date [of the provision].

That Innes had been dean of Ross, we learn from a petition of William Fayrhar, precentor of Ross, for the deanery on its voidance by the consecration of John de Innes, bishop elect of Moray. This petition was granted by Benedict XIII. (anti-pope) on 18 June, 1407 (C.P.R. Pet. i. 635).

Innes died at the canonry at Elgin on St. Mark's day (25 April), 1414 (R.M. 360).<sup>1</sup>

A shield with a crozier behind it bearing arms—three stars—appears on the capital of the central column of the chapter-house, Elgin. It is assigned to Bishop Innes by Mr. Macdonald (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1899-1900, p. 353).

**HENRY DE LYCHTON** (de Leighton), canon of Moray, doctor of Laws and bachelor in Decrees; elect, presumably, 18 May, 1414 (see below); consecrated 'in civitate Valentini, Tarragonensis provincie' by Benedict XIII. (anti-pope) on 8 March, 1414 (*i.e.* 1414-5)<sup>2</sup> (R.M. 360).

On 18th May, 1414 (three weeks and three days after the death of John de Innes), the dean and nine canons were gathered

<sup>1</sup> One John de Innes is canon of Moray in 1389 (R.M. 202) and prebendary of Duffus in 1399 (*ib.* 328). In 1396 Alexander, bishop of Moray, considering the ardent desire of John de Innes, archdeacon of Caithness, 'clerk of our diocese,' to graduate in Canon Law in the University of Paris, and the insufficiency of the fruits of his arch-deaconry, grants him a tithe 'de itineribus et curiis totius diocesis nostrae' (*ib.* 206). No event in his episcopate is recorded in R.M. ; nor does he appear in Parliament.

<sup>2</sup> It would seem that the bishop of Valentia was then a suffragan of the archbishop of Tarragona. At this time the kingdoms of Aragon and Scotland still adhered to the anti-pope, Benedict XIII. [The 8 March was not a Sunday in 1414-5. Apparently the provision was prior to 4 March (C.P.R. Pet. i. 602). On 11 March Henry, bishop of Moray, was granted a faculty to dispense 50 persons for illegitimacy (*Reg. Avin.* 347, 403).]

together *capitulariter* for the purpose of electing a bishop. Before proceeding to the election they swore, each one severally, upon the Gospels that if any one of them was elected and advanced to the bishopric he would give one-third of all his revenues to the fabric of the church until the repair was complete, and would observe certain other points (laid down) in his relation to the canons : Public Instrument preserved in R.M. (216-17). There is no record of the result of the election ; but it may be mentioned that Henry de Lychton was among the canons present.

Henry at the date of his consecration had the parish church of Kinkel in the diocese of Aberdeen, valued with its chapels at £100, together with the canonry and prebend of Inverkethny in Moray (C.P.R. Pet. i. 602).

Henry, bishop of Moray, was present at a General Council held at Perth on 17 March, 1415-6 (A.P. i. 508 ; R.G. 310).

He grants a charter 1 March, 1421-2 (R.M. 218).

He was translated to Aberdeen in 1422. Eubel (i. 63) gives the date of his translation as 1 April, 1422, and so C.P.R. (vii. 248) : Brady (i. 132) gives the date at 3 April, 1422. See under Aberdeen.<sup>1</sup>

**COLUMBA DE DUNBAR**,<sup>2</sup> master of Arts (R.M. 360), dean of the collegiate church of Dunbar, was provided to the

<sup>1</sup> Keith places here next in succession to Henry 'David' (his authority being vaguely cited as *Reg. Chart.*), and makes Columba de Dunbar succeed in 1429. In this he is followed by Cosmo Innes (R.M. Preface, p. xiv) and by Gams (*Series Episcoporum*). Grub (i. 369), merely on the information in R.M. (359-60), rightly rejects David, adding 'I have not found his name elsewhere.' That Grub was right is now capable of positive proof ; see next entry.

<sup>2</sup> He was third son of George de Dunbar, tenth earl of March. He had a grant from Henry IV. of England of the deanery of St. Mary Magdalene of Bridgenorth, 26 Feb. 1402-3 (B.C. iv. No. 628). As dean of the collegiate church of Dunbar he witnessed the foundation charter of the University of St. Andrews, 28 Feb. 1411-2 (see *National MSS. of Scotland*, part ii. No. lxiii.). For his parentage and relations see Sir A. H. Dunbar's 'Notes on the Earldoms of Dunbar, March, and Moray,' in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1887-8, pp. 191-2.

see of Moray 'void by the translation of Henry to Aberdeen' on 3 April, 1422 (E. i. 367; B. i. 135, both from the Vatican records). On 15 Dec. 1422 Martin V. granted Columba, elect of Moray, a faculty to be consecrated by any Catholic bishop, assisted by two or three like bishops (C.P.R. vii. 254).

On 10 Oct. 1423 George de Dunbar, earl of March, refers to him in the words "Columba de Dunbar, fratre nostro, episc. Moraviensi" (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xv. App. viii. p. 33). He is bishop of Moray 23 March, 1426-7 (see Riddell's *Stewartiana*, 98). At the time of his consecration he held the hospital of Ruthven in the diocese of Aberdeen (C.P.R. vii. 241).

In 1433 he received a safe-conduct to pass through England on his way to Rome, and another dated 10 May, 1434, to go through England to the Council of Bâle (*Fæd.* x. pp. 565, 584).

He died in 1435 in his castle of Spynie (R.M. 360), and was buried apparently in his cathedral. The effigy of a bishop with mitre and vestment in the aisle now known as the Dunbar Aisle is with reason believed to mark the tomb of Columba de Dunbar.<sup>1</sup>

**JOHN (III.) DE WINCHESTER** (Wincestre), bachelor in Decrees (R.M. 360); *clericus regis*; chancellor of Dunkeld 1425-6 (R.M.S. ii. 84); canon of Glasgow 1429-30 (*ib.* 147); provost of the collegiate church of Lincluden, when provided (C.P.R. viii. 612); rector of Glencarne (1433-4) (R.M.S. ii. 227).

Eubel (ii. 217) gives 23 March, 1435 (*i.e.* 1435-6) as the date of Winchester's provision. See also C.P.R. viii. 612 [and note].

'Pronunciatus in curia Romana' in the week before Easter, 1436 (R.M. 360). In 1436 Easter fell on 8 April.

He is 'elect confirmed' on 1 Jan. 1436-7 (Arbroath, ii. 545).

He was granted (6 Kal. April, 1436) a faculty to be consecrated by any Catholic bishop of his choice, assisted by two or three others (C.P.R. viii. 613).

<sup>1</sup> One of the three shields above the great west window of the cathedral at Elgin exhibits a lion rampant within a bordure charged with eight roses. Behind the shield is a crozier. This is almost certainly the arms of the bishop. It is described and pictured by Mr. W. Rae Macdonald (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1899-1900, pp. 345-6).

He was consecrated on the feast of the Ascension (9 May), 1437, in the monastery of Cambuskenneth (R.M. 360).

John is at the 'Concilium Generale' at Stirling, 4 Sept. 1439 (A.P. ii. 55).

He is a frequent witness of charters under the Great Seal [from 1440 to 1457].

He appears in Parliament in 1445, and frequently till 1454 (A.P. ii. 59 ff. and 46, [A.D. 1456]). For privileges granted (1445) by the king to the bishop's tenants as regards wapinschaws and hostings see R.M. 219, 220.

He served on embassies in 1449 and 1452, for which Rymer's *Fædera* may be consulted. He appears frequently in R.M.S. (ii.).

In return for the many and continued services of the bishop, at his request James II. erects his vill of Spynie into a free burgh in barony, 24 July, 1451; and the next year [the barony and burgh of Spynie] into a regality, 5 Aug. 1452 (R.M. 221-26).

The date of his death is not easy to ascertain. The year 1458 (given by K.) is certainly wrong; for John, bishop of Moray, is a witness to a royal charter in Edinburgh, 1452 (A.P. ii. 195) and (seven years later) is witness at Perth to a charter on 23 July, 1459 (R.M.S. ii. 1062). According to the Kalendar of Ferne [quoted R.M. p. xiv] Winchester died 1 April, 1460; while the 'Chronicle of John Smyth, monk of Kinloss,' gives 'Anno M° 4 lxiij obiit Johannes Wynsister Episcopus Moraviensis' (*Records of the Monastery of Kinloss*, Appendix to Preface, p. 7). I am inclined to believe that the date, 1 April, 1460, is correct; it falls in well with the next entry. Eubel (ii. 217) had perhaps some evidence in the Vatican records that his successor was appointed on his death (not his resignation).<sup>1</sup>

**JAMES (I.) STEWART**, dean of Moray,<sup>2</sup> high treasurer;

<sup>1</sup> [He was an auditor in Exchequer in June, 1459, and died before 21 Aug. 1460 (E.R. vi. 488, 649).]

<sup>2</sup> We find James Stewart as dean of Moray, 8 Nov. 1456 (Dunferml. 339) and frequently in R.M.S. [He was lord treasurer in 1458 (*ib.*).]

provided, 19 May, 1460; *obligavit* dated 27 June, 1460 (E. ii. 217).<sup>1</sup>

James, bishop of Moray, was present at a 'Convocatio Generalis ecclesie Moraviensis,' 12 Dec. 1460, with continuation till 12 April, 1461 (R.M. 255-256). Cosmo Innes states that there is a seal of his appended to a charter of 1462 in the charter-chest of Kilravock (R.M. xiv.). It would seem that he resigned<sup>2</sup> in 1462 for his successor was appointed in that year (see next entry) while his death is assigned in the 'Chronicle of John Smyth, monk of Kinloss,' (printed in the Appendix to the Preface of Stuart's *Records of Kinloss*) to 5 Aug. 1466.<sup>3</sup>

Seal: a shield (with a crozier behind it) bearing arms: a fess chequy (of two tracts) between three open crowns. *Legend:*

*S. iacobi. episcopi. moraviensis*

(Macdonald, *Armorial Seals*, No. 2655).

**DAVID (II.) STEWART**, canon of Moray and prebendary of Spynie (T. No. 820).

In the *Chronicle* of John Smyth, monk of Kinlos, there is a David Stewart described as brother of the aforesaid James, bishop of Moray (Appendix to Preface of the *Records of Kinloss*, p. 7), presumably Bishop David; but see below.

He was provided by Pope Pius II. before 30 June, 1462 (*Oblig.*; see T. No. 820). On 27 July, 1462, the pope writes to 'David, elect of Moray,' refers to a previous letter, and to David's having rendered the customary oath of fealty into the hands of John, cardinal-priest of the title of St. Martin *in montibus*, and grants him leave to choose as his consecrator any

<sup>1</sup> [The see was still vacant, Martinmas, 1460 (E.R. vii. 16), that is, the new bishop was not yet admitted to the temporality.]

<sup>2</sup> Eubel (ii. 217) makes David Stewart succeed on the *resignation* of James Stewart; perhaps the statement is on evidence in the Vatican records.

<sup>3</sup> The Kalendar of Aberdeen (R.A. ii. 3) at v Kal. Feb. notes 'Anniversarium magistri Jacobi Steuart olim episcopi Moraviensis. Qui obiit anno Domini 1456.' This year is of course impossible, and is probably an error for 1466.

Catholic bishop, assisted by two or three Catholic bishops (T. No. 823).<sup>1</sup>

David pays *commune servitium* 10 Dec. 1463 (E. ii. 217).

He is found at his cathedral 20 May, 1464 (R.M. 230); and at Inverness with King James III. on 5 Aug. of the same year (R.M.S. ii. No. 800); and on 24 Sept. 1464 (Macfarlane's *Genealogical Collections*, i. 197).

*Consecration.* The 5th day of June, 1467, is in the fourth year of his consecration (Cawdor, 48). [25 June, 1471, is in the eighth year (Reg. House Cal. No 433).]

The bishop of Moray (unnamed) is in Parliament 1467, 1469, 1471 (A.P. ii. 87, 93, 98). On 27 Aug. 1470 he appointed James Stewart constable of the palace of Spynie (R.M.S. ii. No. 1051). He pronounced a decree of divorce in his Consistorial Court 23 June, 1471 (Macfarlane's *Genealog. Collect.* ii. 359). David is bishop of Moray 18 July, 1475 (Mackintosh Charters; see Macdonald's *Armorial Seals*, No. 2656).

In Smyth's *Chronicle* (see above) the death of David Stewart, 'brother of the aforesaid James, bishop of Moray,' is placed in 1476. Russel (K. 564) reads not 'frater,' but 'fs' (=filius). Seal—A shield, ensigned with a mitre, bearing arms: A fess chequy between two open crowns in chief and a cross crosslet fitchée in base. *Legend* on an escroll:

*Sigillum. rotundu. danid. epi. moraniensis.*

(Macdonald's *Armorial Seals*, No. 2656).

**WILLIAM (III.) DE TULLOCH**, bishop of Orkney:<sup>2</sup> Privy Seal, 1470-82 (R.M.S.). Translated to Moray 12 Feb. 1476-7 (E.). On 31 March, 1477, he paid at Rome, by the hands of William and John of Paris, 642 gold florins and 43 shillings (B. 135).

His successor (Andrew) in the see of Orkney witnesses a charter of James III. 20 Feb. 1477-8, which charter is also subscribed by William, bishop of Moray, keeper of the Privy Seal (A.P. ii. 193). There is but one writ of William's in R.M. (232): it is dated 29 Nov. 1478. From March, 1478,

<sup>1</sup> It is strange that Eubel has not noticed these references, considerably earlier than the payment made by David.

<sup>2</sup> Date of appointment to Orkney unknown; see Orkney.

onwards [to 14 April, 1482] he appears frequently in R.M.S. as bishop of Moray.

William, bishop of Moray, was alive on 23 March, 1481-2, when the Lords Auditors ordered a payment to William, bishop of Moray, by the procurator of Elizabeth Annand, 'bruthir dochter' of William, bishop of Moray (*Acta Audit.* 96). He was dead before the end of the following July: see next entry.

Arms—A shield, ensigned with a mitre, bearing arms: On a fess between three cross crosslets fitchée as many stars (Macdonald's *Armorial Seals*, No. 2789).

**ANDREW (II.) STEWART**, dean of Moray.

He was third son of Joan Beaufort (formerly wife of King James I.) by her marriage (1439) with Sir James Stewart, 'the black knight of Lorn,' 'avunculus regis' (James III.). He is said [rightly, see below] to have been subdean of Glasgow (1456) and provost of Lincluden (1477): see K.<sup>1</sup>

He was 'elect of Moray' and keeper of the Privy Seal [from Aug. 1482 to Jan. 1482-3 (R.M.S.)]. He was provided by Pope Sixtus IV. on 7 Aug. 1482 (E. ii. 217), and appears as 'elect confirmed' of Moray on 8 Nov. 1482, when he with his two brothers—John, earl of Athol, and James, earl of Buchan—and others signed a bond of relief to the burgh of Edinburgh for 6000 ducats of gold *de camera* 'in or the cais of promocion of the said reverend fadir to the Archbisprik of Sanctandrois or to quahatsomeuer vther benefice, dignite, or privilegis' (*Charters relating to the City of Edinburgh*, 154-6). He is also 'elect

<sup>1</sup>[On 7 May, 1455, Pope Calixtus III. conferred the deanery of Aberdeen, the canonry and prebend of Kirkandris in the church of Glasgow, a canonry of Lincluden, the perpetual vicarage of Kilpatrick in Glasgow diocese, and the subdeanery of Glasgow, all about to fall vacant by the promotion of Andrew de Durisdere to the bishopric of Glasgow, upon Andrew Stewart, brother of James, king of Scots, then in his twelfth year or thereby (T. No. 772). Andrew afterwards resigned the deanery (T. No. 775); and in 1456 Andrew Stewart, subdean of Glasgow, brother of King James II., was incorporated into the University of Glasgow (*Munim. Univ. Glasg.* ii. 64). In 1462 or 1463 Andrew Stewart, dean of Moray, is a determinant at St. Andrews; and in 1465 he (or a namesake) is admitted *ad eundem* into the University of Paris (*Auct. Chart. Univ. Paris.* ii. 955).]

confirmed' on 2 Dec. 1482 (A.P. ii. 142),<sup>1</sup> [and elect 2 Dec. 1483 (E.R. ix. 611). He had a Bull in 1482 annexing the provostry of Linchulen to his episcopal *mensa* for his life (Roman Transcripts, Public Record Office, vol. 28).]

There is a puzzle I have not solved in finding the abbot of Arbroath on 22 Dec. 1485 presenting to the vicarage of Aberkerdor, the presentation being made to the vicars-general and chapter of Moray, *sede vacante* (Arbroath, ii. 238).<sup>2</sup>

Andrew was an adherent of Alexander, duke of Albany, and seems to have hoped to obtain through Albany's influence the see of St. Andrews, Albany putting pressure on the archbishop to sign a deed of resignation. See the indenture between the king and Albany 6 March, 1482-3 (A.P. Supplement, 31-3), and compare the Appendix (by Ferrerius) to Boethius (*Scotorum Historiae*, edit. 1574, fol. 396 *verso*) and the bond for 6000 ducats cited above.<sup>3</sup>

Andrew presided at a general convocation of the canons of Moray in Oct. or Nov. 1487 (R.M. 257-8). He promulgated a large number of statutes relating to the cathedral on 8 May, 1489 (*ib.* 261-272). [In 1488 he obtained a Bull (delivered 6 June), exempting him from the jurisdiction of the archbishop of St. Andrews (Roman Transcripts, Public Record Office).] He received a safe-conduct to England 22 May, 1495 (B.C. iv. No. 1612). He is in Parliament at Edinburgh 23 June, 1496 (Cambusk. 175). Henry VII. asked that he might be sent on an embassage concerning Perkin Warbeck 5 July, 1497 (B.C.

<sup>1</sup> General Stewart Allan (*Charters of Beauly*, 297) says he was consecrated at St. Andrews after Jan. 1483; but the authority is not given.

<sup>2</sup> [It may be that Andrew, for political reasons, failed to obtain consecration or possession of the see till after 1485: see following note. Except as a witness to a Great Seal charter on 2 March, 1483-4 (R.M.S.), which may be a mistake (the charter was not recorded till about 1503), he is never styled bishop before 1487 (see text).]

<sup>3</sup> [There is an undated letter (c. 1483) by the pope (Sixtus IV.) to James III., expressing his displeasure at the offences committed by the elect of Moray, and declaring his willingness, if furnished with the accusations, to sift the matter and do justice thereupon (*Vatican Archives*, Arm. 53, t. 18, p. 154).]

iv. No. 1635). He is bishop of Moray 28 Oct. 1499 (E.R. xi. 435).

On 13 Aug. 1501 the pope, Alexander VI., 'reservavit in pectore suo,' at the instance of the king of France, the church of Moray (B.). This points to the mortal illness of Andrew Stewart having been known in France, and to designs on the bishopric on behalf of someone.

The bishop died 29 Sept. 1501 (Kalendar of Ferne) [quoted R.M. p. xv], and was buried in the cathedral at Elgin.

His seal is pictured at R.M. (Plate II. No. 2). As usual there is a representation of the Trinity, and, below, a shield, behind which there is a pastoral staff, and, above the shield and head of staff, a mitre, but the arms on the shield cannot be made out. Mr. Macdonald (*Armorial Seals*, No. 2658) conjectures that the blazon was: 1st and 4th, a lymphad; 2nd and 3rd, a fess chequy. These arms, ensigned with a mitre, appear on a shield on one of the faces of the capital of the central pillar of the chapter-house, Elgin; see Mr. Macdonald's paper in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (1899-1900), pp. 350-1.

**ANDREW (III.) FORMAN** (Foreman). Protonotary apostolic, perpetual commendator of Pittenweem. He studied at St. Andrews, and became a licentiate in Arts in 1483; attached to the household of the earl of Angus; attached to the king's household *circ. 1489*. [In 1489 (*obligavit* dated 13 May), he, styled clerk of St. Andrews diocese, was provided by Pope Innocent VIII. to the parsonage of the church of Forest (*i.e.* Yarrow) vacant by the death of George Leddail at the Apostolic See, and worth £60 sterling (Roman Transcripts, Public Record Office).] Proctor of James IV. at Rome in 1490, where he was successful in a dispute with the Neapolitan ambassador as to precedence. Made protonotary apostolic by Innocent VIII. On his return he is in high favour with James IV., and is employed about the court. Sent by the king in 1496 to meet Perkin Warbeck at the border. (See Herkless and Hannay's *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, vol. ii. which is wholly devoted to Forman.)

On 13 Oct. 1498 he is granted from the king's coffers a pension of 1000 crowns until he is promoted to a bishopric or

abbacy (R.S.S. i. 272). On 8 Oct. 1501 he, then postulate of the cathedral church of Moray, is one of the ambassadors to England for the marriage of the Princess Margaret to James IV. (R.M.S. ii. 2602). Provided by Alexander VI. to Moray, being then 'prior of the priory of May, alias Pittenweem, of the order of St. Austin in the diocese of St. Andrews, licentiate in Arts, noble,' 26 Nov. 1501 (E.). On 15 Dec. 1501 he paid at Rome 1200 gold florins by the hands of his proctor (B.).

As early as 24 May, 1498, he received licence from James IV. to receive from the king of England any benefice or pension (R.S.S. i. 206). In May, 1501, he is given by Henry VII. the rectory of Cottenham in Yorkshire (B.C. iv. 1671).

On 7 Sept. 1503 the king orders the castle of Dunbar to be delivered to Andrew, bishop of Moray (R.S.S. i. 978). On 8 March, 1507-8, he is made captain and keeper of the king's castle of Darnaway, and chamberlain of the lordship of Moray (*ib.* 1628-30).

In the spring of 1508 Forman is going to the court of Rome (B.C. iv. No. 1748; compare R.S.S. i. 1683).<sup>1</sup> On 26 Dec. 1509 he is admitted to the temporality of Dryburgh (R.S.S. i. 1975).<sup>2</sup> In 1510 and 1511 he is chiefly engaged in diplomatic business in France and Italy. On 6 May, 1511, Pope Julius II. wrote to James IV. promising to make Andrew, bishop of Moray, a cardinal at the first creation (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 139). [On 18 July, 1511, he was papally provided to the abbey of Kelso, for which on 25 Sept. he offered 66½ florins (*Oblig.*.)] He was provided to the archbishopric of Bourges, in France, 15 July, 1513 (Herkless and Hannay; Stewart Allan gives the date as 13 Sept. 1513). [On the same day he was granted licence to retain Moray, Kelso and Dryburgh, for which on 22 Aug. he offered 1200, 60 and 150 florins respectively (*Oblig.*.)] Translated to St. Andrews. See letter of 8 Dec. 1514, from Leo

<sup>1</sup> In R.M.S. (ii. 3274), 1 Dec. 1508, we find 'David bishop of Moray' testing. As the editor observes (p. 849) this is 'probably a mistake, either for Andrew, bishop of Moray, or for David, bishop of Lismore.'

<sup>2</sup> [He had been provided to that abbey by the Pope 5 Nov. 1509 (*Oblig.*.)]

X. to Margaret Tudor (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 267). See St. Andrews.

A brother of Andrew Forman, named John, who was a knight, styled successively as of Dalvane (Dawane), Edzars-toun, and Rutherford, appears in R.S.S. i. 1438, 1439. He had a sister Isobel, second wife of Sir Patrick Home, of Fast Castle, where she entertained for a night the Princess Margaret Tudor on her entry to Scotland. (See Young's *Narrative* [Leland's *Collectanea*, iv. 282] and Sir J. Balfour Paul's *Scots Peerage* s.v. Home.)

Arms—Two seals of the bishop are described by Macdonald (*Armorial Seals*, Nos. 956, 957), one bearing the legend: S. ANDRE FORMAN EPI. MORAVIEN, the other: S: andree: Epi. morabiensis commendatarii de pettenweem et cotingham. The shield, at base of seals, is ensigned with a mitre and bears arms: 1st and 4th, a chevron between three fishes hauriant; 2nd and 3rd, a camel head erased, collared and belled.

**JAMES (II.) HEPBURN**, rector of Parton (diocese of Galloway), treasurer of Scotland. Keith, followed by Cosmo Innes (R.M. p. xv), is in error in representing James Hepburn as a son of Adam Lord Hailes. He was the son of Alexander Hepburn of Whitsome, as is proved by his styling Alexander Lord Livingston as his nephew (R.M.S. iii. 181), Livingston's mother being a daughter of Hepburn of Whitsome (*Act. Dom. Concil.* x. 106).<sup>1</sup> One may suspect that Keith merely adopted the error from Crawfurd (*Officers of State*, 369).

He appears as the king's clerk and rector of Dalry on 1 Aug. 1511 (R.M.S. ii. 3605). For the identification of the James Hepburn of this charter with the bishop of Moray of a later date, compare the charter of confirmation by James V. (R.M.S. iii. 181). He appears to have been treasurer in June, 1515, and to have held the office till Oct. 1516<sup>2</sup> (see Crawfurd, as above, 369).

<sup>1</sup> [See *Scots Peerage*, ii. 144.]

<sup>2</sup> [He was treasurer from 25 June, 1515, to 25 Jan. 1515-6; on 3 Oct. 1516, when his account was audited, he is styled bishop of Moray (Tr. A. v. 1).]

He was postulate of Moray 17 March, 1515-6, and on 6 May, 1516, he is styled postulate of Moray and rector of Parton (R.M.S. iii. 67, 71). [He was provided by Leo X. 14 May, 1516 (E. and *Oblig.*) ; and had a Bull of the same date exempting him from the metropolitan and legatine jurisdiction of the archbishop of St. Andrews ; the archbishop's proctor consenting (*Reg. Lat.* 1346, 207).] He was admitted to the temporality of Moray 26 Aug. 1516 (R.S.S. i. 2803).

There is an undated letter of James Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, to the cardinal of St. Eusebius, 'Protector of the Scots,' beseeching his aid in procuring the pope's censure of the claim made by James, bishop of Moray, of being exempt from the primatial and legatine jurisdiction of the archbishop (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 343).

He seems to have been at Spynie Castle, and there to have instituted a rector of Duffus on 19 April, 1524 (R.M. 401). He died a few days before Martinmas in the same year (*Act. Dom. Concil. et Sess.* vi. 207). On the 28 Nov. 1524 [and again in March following] the earl of Angus wrote to Cardinal Wolsey to solicit the pope to grant his brother [William, prior of Coldingham, afterwards abbot of Holyrood] the bishopric of Moray and the abbacy of Melrose 'whilkes ar baith vacant' (*State Papers*, iv. 265, 346).

Arms: On a chevron two lions pulling at a rose, a heart-shaped buckle in base (Macdonald's *Armorial Seals*, No. 1322).

**ROBERT SHAW** (Schawe), abbot of Paisley, son of the laird of Sauchie.

On 11 Jan. 1524-5 James V. wrote to Pope Clement VII. commanding Robert Schawe, 'now many years abbot of Paisley,' for Moray ; and prays that he may be permitted to wear a rochet and celebrate 'divina,' according to the use of Moray (T. No. 947) ; and on 8 May [1525] Shaw himself wrote to Wolsey, seeking the appointment (*Cal. Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* vol. iv. No. 316).<sup>1</sup> He is styled 'Robert, bishop of Moray,' 5 Feb. 1524-5 (Arbroath, ii. 444).

<sup>1</sup>[There is no year date in the letter ; the year 1524 given in the Calendar is evidently wrong.]

On 17 May, 1525,<sup>1</sup> Shaw was provided to the see void by the death of James Hepburn, bishop of Moray. He receives at the same time a dispensation to wear a rochet. The revenues are put down at 2000 florins, the taxa as 200 (*Barberini*). In the Chigi and Florence copies the taxa is stated to be 1200 florins. On 5 July, 1525, John Thornton, canon of Moray, in the name of Robert, elect of Moray, paid 1200 florins of gold, *Oblig.* (B. i. 136).

The 15 Jan. 1526-7 was in the second year of his consecration (R.M. 254). His consecration was doubtless before 29 Oct. 1525; see below.

Robert was admitted to the temporality about Sept. 1525 (R.S.S. i. 3352).

On 29 Oct. 1525 the dean of Moray for himself and the canons swore fealty and obedience to the bishop at Elgin (R.M. 371).

As abbot of Paisley he had witnessed many Great Seal charters, the earliest being 2 April, 1514, the latest 14 Jan. 1524-5 (R.M.S. iii.).<sup>2</sup> He was admitted to the temporality of Paisley as early as 13 March, 1498-9 (R.S.S. i. 356) [having been provided thereto 20 July, 1498 (B.)].

Robert died before Nov. 1527, when the see was vacant (*Act. Dom. Con.* xxxviii. 30).

Arms—Shaw's episcopal seal exhibits a shield bearing arms: Three covered cups. Macdonald (*Armorial Seals*, Nos. 2453, 2454).

**ALEXANDER (II.) STEWART**, de Pitcarne (illegitimate) son of Alexander, duke of Albany, by Catherine Sinclair (R.M.S. iii. Nos. 1230 and 111; see also Lesley, Bannatyne edit. 108); dean of Brechin.

On 5 Aug. 1514 a letter was addressed to Leo X. in the name of James V. requesting Inchaffray for Stewart (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 199). [He was provided to the *commenda* of Inchaffray 13 Nov. 1514 (*Regesta Leonis X.* edit. Hergenröther, i. 773), and to that of Sccone 5 Nov. 1518 (B. i. 208).]

<sup>1</sup>[So E. In a consistorial MS. in the Vatican archives, the date is given 'die Mercurii 17 Maii'; in that year the 17 May fell on a Wednesday. B. reads 18 May.]

<sup>2</sup>[Also 18 March, 1503-4, and twice in Jan. 1511-2 (R.M.S. ii.).]

After the death of Robert, bishop of Moray, there was an interval of about two years before the see was filled. From a letter of Henry VIII. to Clement VII., dated 31 May, 1528, we learn that James V. (supported by the king of England) besought the pope to appoint 'Dominus Alexander Douglas,' and to grant the dispensations 'quibus ille forsan eget.' Henry speaks of the sinister endeavours of ill-wishers, who sought to thwart the design of the king of Scotland (T. No. 995, p. 561).<sup>1</sup>

On 13 Sept. 1529<sup>2</sup> Alexander Stewart, designated as dean of Brechin, and 'consanguineus' of the king of Scotland, 'for whom the king himself had supplicated,' is provided by the pope. He is granted a dispensation to retain the deanery of Brechin and to be exempt from his metropolitan, but only during the life of the then metropolitan (James Beaton), *Barberini* and *Chigi* (B.). On 29 Sept. 1529 John Thornton, canon of Moray, as proctor for Alexander, paid 1200 gold florins. On the same day Alexander 'recognovit' for Scone and Inchaffray, both of which monasteries he retained (B.). He paid 210 florins for retention of Scone and 100 florins for Inchaffray. He had, in the case of his appointment to Scone, a dispensation for defect of birth and for irregularity, contracted in war with the late king (B.). On 9 Dec. 1529 Alexander Dunbar, dean of Moray, is vicar-general *sede vacante* (original deed in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland).

Perhaps it was because of the delay of his consecration that the dean and canons of Moray do not take the oath of fealty

<sup>1</sup> [On 26 April, 1528, James V. had written to Wolsey, requesting him to write to the pope in favour of Alexander Douglas, natural son of Archibald Douglas, lord treasurer, for his promotion to the bishopric of Moray; which was deferred 'through default of his mature age, or rather through solicitation and means of our eme (uncle) the duke of Albany' (*Douglas Book*, iv. 16; *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* iv. No. 4205). James' escape from the Douglases in June, 1528, defeated this scheme.]

<sup>2</sup> [Another MS. in the Vatican archives reads 'die Veneris 10 Sept.'; the 10 Sept. was a Friday that year. But his Bull was dated 13 Sept. (E.).]

and obedience to the bishop till 16 April, 1532, when the bishop was present in the chapter-house of Elgin (R.M. 373).

Cosmo Innes (R.M. xv.) is seriously in error in positively asserting what K. had only stated with an 'it is said,' that Alexander Stewart died in 1534. He is alive 19 June, 1536 (*Laing Charters*, No. 410), and on 30 Nov. 1536 (Inverness Charters), [and on 10 Dec. 1537 (Perth Burgh Charters)]. The *Black Book of Taymouth* (121) says Andrew (*sic*) Stewart, bishop of Moray, died 21 Dec. 1537. This ('Andrew' being taken as an error for 'Alexander') is probably correct; at any rate he was dead before 12 Jan. 1537-8 (R.M.S. iii. 1743).<sup>1</sup>

Arms (Macdonald's *Armorial Seals*, No. 2578): Quarterly, 1st, Lion rampant within a royal tressure; 2nd, 3rd, and 4th, illegible, but probably, says Macdonald, the same as his father's, which are given *ib.* No. 2576.

**PATRICK HEPBURN**, prior of St. Andrews (to which he had been appointed in 1522 on the death of Prior John Hepburn).<sup>2</sup>

He is wrongly regarded by K., Cosmo Innes (R.M. xv.), David Laing (Knox's *Works*, i. 41), and Douglas' *Peerage*, as son of Patrick, first earl of Bothwell. 'He was really brother and heir of Master John Hepburn of Beinstoun, who was son of Patrick, first of Beinstoun, who got the lands by charter, dated 26 Nov. 1478, from his father Patrick, first Lord Hailes.' (The authorities for this statement are furnished in Mr. W. Rae MacDonald's 'Notes on the Heraldry of Elgin, etc.', in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1899-1900, p. 381.)<sup>3</sup>

David Laing assigns his appointment to Moray to the year 1535 (Knox's *Works*, i. 41, note): he was probably misled by K. See last entry.

<sup>1</sup> [For further particulars, see *Scots Peerage*, i. 152-3.]

<sup>2</sup> [John Hepburn survived till 1525 (R.M.S.); Patrick was provided by the pope as coadjutor prior 16 June, 1524 (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix. 191). In 1525, as parson of Whitsome, he entered into a contract as to the expenses, stated at £400 sterling, of his promotion to the priory (*Acta Dom. Conc.* xxxv. 130).]

<sup>3</sup> [See also *Scots Peerage*, ii. 142-3, where further particulars will be found.]

Patrick was provided to Moray by Paul III. on 14 June (Paris copy reads 24 June),<sup>1</sup> 1538. He is required to resign the priory of St. Andrews. Revenue, 1500 florins; taxa, 1200 florins (B.).

He was admitted to the temporality of Moray and of Scone (of which he held the *commendam*) 24 Nov. 1538 (R.S.S. xii. 40).

His summons by the queen to the Parliament of 3 Feb. 1566-7 is printed (Scone, 209).

He was cited for treason, 1 Oct. 1567, together with his sons, Adam Hepburn of Ballinghard, George Hepburn, rector of Dalry, and Patrick Hepburn, rector of Kynnoire (A.P. iii. 6).

Despite the ecclesiastical revolution of 1560 he continued to hold possession of his castle of Spynie, where he is said to have died 20 June, 1573 (K., on the authority of 'Mr. King's MS.'). He was dead certainly before 10 July, 1573 (*Acts and Decrees*, l. 274). At Spynie he makes a grant as bishop of Moray and commendator of Scone, 29 Sept. 1570 (Scone, 212).<sup>2</sup>

A sculptured stone in the courtyard of the bishop's house at Elgin exhibits a shield (surmounted by a mitre with the letters P. and H. at the sides) bearing arms:—On a chevron two lions pulling at a rose, with a star in base. On an escroll beneath the shield is the motto *EXPECTO*. See Mr. Macdonald's paper cited above.

<sup>1</sup>[E. has 14 June.]

<sup>2</sup>The Register of the Great Seal contains legitimations of numerous bastard children: John and Patrick, bastard natural sons of Patrick, prior of St. Andrews, 18 Dec. 1533; Adam, Patrick, George, John, and Patrick Hepburn, bastard natural sons of Patrick, bishop of Moray, 4 Oct. 1545; Jonet and Agnes, bastard natural daughters of Patrick, bishop of Moray, 14 May, 1550; and Agnes Hepburn, daughter of the late Patrick, bishop of Moray, 8 Feb. 1587-8.

## The Bishops of Brechin

A DISCUSSION of the date of the foundation of the bishopric of Brechin will be found in Skene's *Celtic Scotland* (ii. 395-7). We are devoid of positive evidence as to the exact date. But it has been generally accepted that it may be placed about 1150.<sup>1</sup> The first bishop of whom we know anything is

**SAMSON.** He appears before the death of King David († 24 May, 1153), attesting a charter of that monarch recorded in the *Book of Deer* (p. 95) together with Gregory, bishop of Duncallden, and Andrew, bishop of Cat(anesia). There is no sufficient reason for doubting the genuineness of this charter. As we find Samson as late at least as 1165 (witnessing charters of Richard, bishop of St. Andrews, who was consecrated in that year ; R.P.S.A. pp. 133, 144), we must regard 'T,' who appears in a probably genuine Bull of Adrian IV., of the year 1155, as an error of transcription for 'S' (see Haddan and Stubbs, ii. part i. pp. 231-2).<sup>2</sup>

For other appearances of Samson, see R.P.S.A. and Cambusk. The name takes the form of Sonsan in a charter of Malcolm IV. (as it appears in R.M.S. ii. No. 1791).

Presumably Samson ruled the diocese till near the date of his successor's appointment.

**TURPIN.** He witnesses as 'elect,' 'anno incarnationis 1178' (Arbroath, i. 9). His consecration was perhaps about 1180.

The charter to which 'Turpino Brechinensi' is attached as a witness (R.A. i. pp. 12-13) professing to be in the fifth year

<sup>1</sup> See Cosmo Innes, Preface to R.B. i. p. vi.

<sup>2</sup> [The Bull exists only in a fifteenth century copy.]

of King William (*i.e.* the year ending 8 Dec. 1170) can be demonstrated from an examination of the witnesses to be dated much too early.<sup>1</sup> The date of Turpin's death is unknown.

It may be mentioned that we find a 'magister Turpinus' witnessing charters of King William before 1171 (R.P.S.A. 216, 223).<sup>2</sup>

**RALPH** (Radulphus). Elect at least as early as 1198 or 1199, for as such he witnesses in the year of the nativity of Alexander, son of King William (Alexander was born 24 Aug. 1198): see Arbroath, i. 103. And he was elect in the time of Gilbert, prior of St. Andrews, who succeeded in 1196, and died in 1198 (*ib.*). He was consecrated in 1202 (M.). For his witnessing in 1202 or 1203, see *Chartulary of Lindores*, No. 3, with the editor's notes (Scottish History Society).

[He granted the church of Glenylif to the canons of Cambuskenneth *in proprios usus*, as appears by a later confirmation by Bishop Gregory quoted below.] Date of death unknown.

**HUGH**, the son of a priest (T. No. 6). He was apparently bishop as early at least as 1214, for a witness to one of his charters (R.B. ii. 260) is 'Roberto electo Rossensi'; see under bishops of Ross. The bishop of Brechin (presumably Hugh) died in 1218 (M.).

**GREGORY**, archdeacon of Brechin, elected before 15 Dec. 1218, when Honorius IV. wrote to the bishop of St. Andrews that the chapter of Brechin had elected *concorditer* Gregory archdeacon of that church, and commits to the bishop to investigate the character of the election and the person of the elect; and if he was satisfied to confirm the election and provide for the consecration of the elect (T. No. 19).

It may be observed that in Arbroath, i., we find one

<sup>1</sup> The witnesses to this charter are almost the same as those (among whom is Turpin) to another charter of King William (R.M. 6). Both were granted at Kyngorn. The latter is undated, and is free from some puzzles presented by that in R.A. The Aberdeen charter raises the suspicion that it was tampered with. [Most scholars regard it as a forgery.]

<sup>2</sup> [Also another royal charter between 1171 and 1177 (Cambusk. No. 100).]

Gregory, archdeacon of Brechin, in the times of Bishop Turpin, Bishop Ralph, and Bishop Hugh.

Gregory was a judge delegate in 1219 (Dryburgh, 26), and in 1224 (*ib.* 32). He is present in *curia regis* at Forfar in 1225 (A.P. i. 406), and in the same year he is a judge delegate (Scone, 53). [His confirmation of the church of Glenylif (Glenisla) to Cambuskenneth Abbey mentions Ralph and Hugh, his predecessors (*transumpt penes* earl of Moray). He was present at a council at Dundee in 1230 (*agreement penes eundem.*)]

Gregory was bishop in 1242 (Arbroath, i. 206).

The *Chronicle of Melrose* is generally a trustworthy source of information. Under the year 1249 we read 'Obiit dominus Gilbertus episcopus Brehinensis; cui successit dominus Robertus suus archidiaconus.' It seems impossible to reconcile this statement with the passage from T. (see next entry), and the other testimonies as to Albin's tenure of office. And I am not aware that there is any other testimony as to this Gilbert and this Robert.

The probable date of Gregory's death may be inferred from the next entry.

**ALBIN**, precentor of Brechin. Elected before 19 July, 1246, on which day Innocent IV. wrote to the bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Dunkeld, stating that letters from the chapter of Brechin had been laid before him announcing that the see being void, they had convened and unanimously conferred on three of their number the power of providing a pastor for that church. These three after consideration postulated master Albin, precentor of Brechin, born out of wedlock (*de soluto genitum et soluta*). They supplicate the pope to dispense with Albin's defect of birth. The pope proceeds that as the papal legate in those parts (Scotland), O(tto), bishop of Porto, had judged that Albin was to be dispensed, the pope concurs; and he remits to the three bishops to inquire into the canonical character of the postulation and the fitness of the postulated. If they were satisfied, they were to require Albin to subscribe the oath of fealty to the pope and to proceed to his consecration (T. No. 116). [A. bishop of Brechin witnesses a charter of Alexander II. at Forfar, 3 July, 1247 (*penes* earl of Moray).] In 1248 in a charter to Arbroath abbey he speaks of his

predecessors Turpin, Ralph, Hugh, and Gregory (Arbroath, i. 174). In 1248 by a charter dated Finchale (in Durham) he granted an indulgence to all who would help in building the new church of the priory, and in 1256-7 by a charter dated Durham he granted a similar indulgence to those visiting any of the five altars in front of the cathedral of Durham. [He had granted a similar indulgence in 1254.] *Priory of Finchale*, pp. 175-6, and *Rites of Durham*, pp. 151, 153 (Surtees). His seal is engraved. He is bishop in 1252 and 1256 (Lindores, Abbotsford Club, pp. 10, 14.) He is papal judge delegate in 1260 (R.M. 119).

Albin, with the bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Ross, and Caithness, in 1250 protested in Parliament against the spoliation of church property (A.P. i. 425, and S.E.S. i. p. lxi).

Albin died in 1269 (M.).

**WILLIAM**, dean of Brechin. In the volume known as *Extracta e variis Cronicis Scocie* (Abbotsford Club, p. 108) it is stated that 'William, dean of Brechin, in this year (apparently 1267) a man in all things praiseworthy, but of a harsh voice, succeeded Albian, bishop of the same, deceased. The legate (Ottobone) refused to confirm or consecrate him. But on his resorting to the pope he was without delay confirmed and consecrated.' Is any of this story, and, if so, how much, to be accepted? Now one of the papal letters published by Theiner (see next entry) shows that a certain William, dean of Brechin, had been elected to the see, and the see is said to be void by the death of William, dean of Brechin, of good memory, elect to the bishopric of Brechin. It is plain that this William had died unconsecrated. In a subsequent passage of *Extracta* (p. 112) it is stated that William *elect* of Brechin died at the Council of Lyons (1274). It is not very probable that two deans of Brechin, both of the name of William, the first consecrated, the second unconsecrated, had succeeded and had died between 1269 and 1275. And as there is no evidence for the consecration of William, dean of Brechin, except the rather dubious *Extracta*, I reckon that the story of the consecration is unfounded, and that there was only one William, dean of Brechin, elected to the see. This view is supported by the words 'postquam diu steterat in curia,' cited from Sc. under next entry. It may be

added that we find a William, dean of Brechin, in 1248 (Arbroath, i. 175).

**WILLIAM CUMYN**, a professor of theology in the house of the Preaching Friars at Perth. In M. he is called William de Kilconcath, 'lector fratrum predicatorum de Pert.' According to Sc. (x. 34) he was brother<sup>1</sup> of the William elect of Brechin who, 'postquam diu steterat in curia,' had died at Lyons.

William Cumyn was elect before 24 May, 1275. At that date Gregory X. writes to the bishops of St. Andrews and Dunkeld stating that a petition was presented to him on behalf of the dean and chapter of Brechin, relating that when the see became vacant by the death of William, dean of Brechin, bishop elect, having convened, they proceeded to the election of his successor *per viam scrutinii*. The result was the election of William Cumyn, born in lawful matrimony, of mature age, at that time regent in the faculty of theology in the house of the Preaching Friars at Perth. They sent two proctors (named) from among the canons humbly petitioning that the pope would confirm the election. He states that, being himself too much occupied with great and arduous business, he confides to the bishops of St. Andrews and Dunkeld to inquire into the canonical character of the election and the fitness of the elect, and, if satisfied, to associate with themselves a third bishop of the realm of Scotland, and confer on William the gift of consecration (T. No. 262).

'Brother (*frater*) W.' is bishop of Brechin in April, 1276 (R.P.S.A. 111.). William, bishop of Brechin, was sent by King Alexander to King Edward with letters 18 Aug. 1277 (B.C. ii. No. 96). He was present at the Convention of Brigham,

<sup>1</sup> [The printed words are: 'Et frater ejus Willelmus de ordine Praedicatorum electus est'; which is conform to the Edinburgh University MS. from which Goodall's edition was printed. But in the two British Museum MSS. (Harl. 712 and Royal 13 E. x.), which represent the same recension, the word *ejus* is omitted, as I learn from Miss E. M. Thompson; and it is omitted also in *Liber de Cupro* (Adv. Lib. MS. 35. 1. 7), which according to Skene represents a text revised by Bower himself. It is therefore very doubtful whether we have Bower's authority for saying that William Cumyn was a brother of his predecessor.]

1289-90 (A.P. i. 441). It is this same William to whom Pope Nicholas IV. granted a faculty, 2 Dec. 1289, to dispose (with certain restrictions), by testament of his movable estate so far as it was not assigned to any special altar or to the order of Preachers 'of which thou hast been professed' (T. No. 325).

William granted an indulgence at Durham, 16 Aug. 1286, and was bishop in 1290 (*Rites of Durham*, p. 155, referred to Cosmo Innes, R.B. i. p. viii), and probably held the see till 1295. See next entry.<sup>1</sup>

**NICHOLAS**, sub-dean of Brechin. Consecrated shortly before 26 Jan. 1295-6. Of this bishop, so far as I am aware, our sole information is derived from the papal registers. His name is unrecorded either by K. or Cosmo Innes (Preface to R.B.).

Abstract of epistle of Boniface VIII. 'to Nicholas, bishop of Brechin,' dated at St. Peter's, Rome, 26 Jan. 1295-6 (T. No. 350).<sup>2</sup> The see was vacant by the death of 'V.' (Willelmi). The pope desired to provide a fit person to the see. On the testimony 'as well of our brethren, as of other prelates and trustworthy persons,' he judged that a fit person was to be found in Nicholas, the sub-dean of the church of Brechin. He therefore advanced him to the see, and caused him to be consecrated by S. (? J.), bishop of Tusculum.<sup>3</sup>

There is no reference in this epistle to there having been any election by the chapter; and the pope refers to the grave inconveniences that might affect the church of Brechin by reason of a long vacancy 'maxime hoc tempore propter guerras in illis partibus imminentes.'

He is referred to by the initial letter 'N' in the epistle of Boniface VIII. confirming the election of his successor. See

<sup>1</sup> In Sc. x. 34 we read of this William, of the Order of Preachers, that he despised the election 'ob tenuitatem redditum'; yet he certainly held the bishopric.

<sup>2</sup> Eubel gives the date of Nicholas as 21 Jan. 1297. But the letter of Boniface VIII. is dated 'vii. Kal. Feb. Pontificatus nostri anno secundo'; and whether he was consecrated on 16 Jan., 23 Jan., or 25 Jan. (all three dates have been assigned), his second year had begun on the 26 Jan. 1295-6.

<sup>3</sup> Joannes Buccamatius was, apparently, bishop of Tusculum all through the pontificate of Boniface VIII., see Ciaconius and Eubel.

next entry. His episcopate was brief, which may account for his not appearing in Scottish record.

**JOHN DE KYNNINMOND** (Kyninmonth, Kinnimonth), archdeacon of Brechin. Consecrated before 1 June, 1298. Abstract of epistle of Boniface VIII. to 'John, bishop of Brechin,' dated St. Peter's, Rome, 1 June, 1298. The see had been void through the death of N(icholas). The chapter duly convened for an election, proceeded *per viam compromissi*. The precentor, the treasurer, and three other canons of the cathedral (all the names given) were chosen to elect as bishop anyone who was of the body of the canons (*de ipsius ecclesie gremio*) of the cathedral. These *compromissarii* unanimously chose 'thee, then archdeacon of the same church.' The result was announced to the chapter who willingly and unanimously approved of the election. John gave his assent, and together with proctors of the chapter presented to the pope the decree of the election. The decree of the election and the person of the elect were submitted for diligent examination to three cardinals (named). The election was declared to have been canonically celebrated, and the elect was declared to be *idonea persona*. Whereupon the pope confirmed the election and caused John to be consecrated by M(atthew), bishop of Porto.<sup>1</sup> Concurrent letters to the chapter of Brechin, to the clergy and people of the city and diocese of Brechin, to all the vassals of the church of Brechin, and to the king of Scotland (T. No. 361).<sup>2</sup>

He is bishop on 5 April, 1304 (B.C. ii. No. 1496), and is at St. Andrews, 30 Jan. 1304-5 (*ib.* iv. No. 1807). On 31 March, 1305, King Edward I. ordered payment to be made to 'J. Breghinensi episcopo' for lead which he had stripped from the church and other houses of the bishop (Stevenson's *Historical Documents*, etc., ii. 488). He is bishop 12 Sept. 1311 (Cambusk. No. 105).

He is in Parliament 9 July, 1321 (A.P. i. 478). King Robert I. confirms to John the right to hold Sunday markets at Brechin,

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Aquasparta, cardinal bishop of Portus.

<sup>2</sup> Thus John de Kynninmond was bishop of Brechin more than five years before the earliest notice of him as bishop known to K. or Cosmo Innes (R.B. i. viii).

10 July, 1321 (R.B. ii. 6; R.M.S. ii. No. 494). He is bishop in the sixteenth year of Robert I., *i.e.* year ending 26 March, 1322; see Arbroath, i. 213.

**ADAM DE MORAVIA**, doctor in Decrees. Provided by PP. John XXII. 'Elect' on 15 Oct. 1328 (T. No. 474).

James (Bene), archdeacon of St. Andrews, with the bishop of Moray and our Adam were proctors at Avignon for King Robert, and had promised on his behalf £2000 sterling for the removal of excommunication and interdict (compare T. Nos. 474, 485). While at Avignon, Adam and James were both advanced, the first to the see of Brechin, the other to that of St. Andrews.

On 20 Oct. 1328 the pope grants to Adam de Moravia, doctor of Canon Law, who had been advanced to the see of Brechin, void by the death of John, a dispensation to assume that dignity, notwithstanding that he is of illegitimate birth (C.P.R. ii. 283).

Consecrated before 31 Oct. 1328 at Avignon (T. No. 475). John XXII. addresses Adam, bishop of Brechin, on the latter of these days, stating that during the life of John, bishop of Brechin, he had resolved to reserve the see to his own provision *ea vice*. He appoints him, Adam, doctor in Decrees, and has caused him to receive consecration from William, bishop of Sabina.<sup>1</sup> Concurrent letters to the chapter of Brechin, the clergy and people, the vassals of the church of Brechin, and to Robert, king of Scots (T. No. 475; see also R.B. ii. 389-90).

Adam, bishop of Brechin, witnesses at Newbattle on Thursday next after St. Peter *ad Vincula* (*i.e.* 3 Aug.), 1329 (Newbattle, 163). [He witnesses Sir Gilbert Hay's grant of the patronage of the church of Errol to the monks of Coupar between 1331 and 1333 (*penes* earl of Moray).]

[He is an auditor in Exchequer 1329 (E.R. i. 203, 236);<sup>2</sup> ambassador to England 1335 and 1336 (*Rot. Scot.* i. 334, 449); and again auditor in Exchequer 1340 and 1342 (E.R. i. 464,

<sup>1</sup> [Gulielmus Petri Godin, a Friar Preacher; died 1336 (E. i. 37).]

<sup>2</sup> [In the duplicate of this account preserved in the Public Record Office (B.C. iii. 313 ff.) he is styled chancellor. In Scottish record he appears as chancellor from 6 Feb. 1330-1 (National MSS. ii. No. 33) 10 Mar. 1331-2 (Transcript in Reg. House).]

499, 515).] He is in Parliament at Scone, 17 Sept. 1341 (A.P. i. 512).

He had a safe-conduct till Pentecost to treat with the king of England, 20 March, 1341-2 (B.C. iii. No. 1379). [He was sent to England several times between Jan. 1347-8 and April 1349 to negotiate for the liberation of David II. (*Rot. Scot.* i. 709, 714, 718, 727).] He is mentioned among the ambassadors who treated of the ransom of David II. about April 1348 [or rather 1349, cp. *Rot. Scot.* above] (B.C. iii. No. 1527).

We find him witnessing a charter of David II. on 31 Oct. 1343 (Arbroath, ii. 19). He is at Brechin in Aug. 1348 (R.B. i. 12), and probably died at the end of 1349: see next entry.<sup>1</sup>

**PHILIP**, dean of Brechin at the date of his consecration (C.P.R. Pet. i. 199, 201). Consecrated (probably soon) after 17 Feb. 1349-50. Abstract of the epistle of Clement VI. 'to Philip, elect of Brechin,' dated Avignon, 17 Feb. 1349-50. The pope had during the life of Adam reserved the see. After the death of Adam, the chapter of Brechin, ignorant, 'as it is said,' of the reservation, elected *concorditer* Philip, dean of Brechin, a priest. In like ignorance Philip gave his assent to the election. On learning the truth, Philip came to the Apostolic See, and laid the facts as to the election before the pope in Consistory. The pope pronounced the election to be null and void, as being contrary to his reservation. He himself advances Philip to the see. Concurrent letters to the chapter of Brechin, to the clergy and people of the diocese, and to the king of Scotland (T. No. 585).<sup>2</sup>

In the same year (1350) on 2 June the pope grants the petition of Alexander de Kyninmond for the deanery of Brechin void by the *consecration* of Philip (C.P.R. iii. p. 413).

<sup>1</sup> Russel's note to Keith, p. 565, citing R.B. i. p. 13, No. 10 in proof of two successive Adams is, I have little doubt, based on his accepting an error of the scribe. See Cosmo Innes' conjectural emendation of *Patricio* for *Ade* (R.B. i. p. viii).

<sup>2</sup> This epistle is given in English, with tolerable fullness, from a transcript in the British Museum, in R.B. (ii. p. 393), but the date is there given as 20 Feb.

Philip was at Brechin 16 March, 1350-1 (R.B. ii. 7). He witnesses on 3 May, 1351 (*Spalding Misc.* v. 249). He must have died not long after, for the appointment of his successor by the pope (preceded by a *de facto* election) dates 17 Nov. 1351.

**PATRICK DE LOCRYS** (Lochrys, Lochris, Leuchars), canon of St. Andrews. Provided to Brechin, by Clement VI., 17 Nov. 1351. Consecrated between that date and 11 Dec. of the same year.

Abstract of epistle of Clement VI. to Patrick de Locrys, 'elect of Brechin,' dated Avignon, 17 Nov. 1351. The see had been reserved by the pope during the life of Philip. The chapter ignorant, 'ut fertur,' of the reservation had *de facto* elected *concorditer* Patrick, canon of St. Andrews, a priest; and Patrick, in like ignorance, had with the assent of his superior (the prior of the canons regular of St. Andrews) assented to the election. On learning the truth, Patrick had resorted to the Apostolic See, and laid the matter before the pope in Consistory. The election was declared null and void, as being contrary to the pope's reservation. The pope appointed Patrick to the see. Concurrent letters to the chapter, and to David, king of Scotland (T. No. 600).

On 11 Dec. Patrick is commanded by the pope to betake himself to his see, he having been consecrated by Bertrand, bishop of Sabina<sup>1</sup> (C.P.R. iii. 431).

*Notices of his earlier career.* On 24 June, 1344, Clement VI. confirmed (at the request of King David and Queen Joan) the bishop's mandate to the dean of Christianity of Haddington to induct Patrick de Lochris, rector of Tynyngham, into that church, void by the resignation of his predecessor (C.P.R. iii. 165).

At the time of his consecration he held the benefice of Thanadis (Tannadice) in the diocese of St. Andrews, for it was voided by his consecration (*ib.* 422; and Pet. i. 227).

Keith and Cosmo Innes (R.B. Preface, p. viii) place Patrick's appointment in 1354. This error is, in the case of Innes, only due to carelessness, for he himself printed a summary of the Bull

<sup>1</sup> Cardinal Bertrand de Deucio. He died in 1355. *Ciaconius*, ii. coll. 472-4.

in English (of which Theiner prints the Latin text); R.B. ii. 394. Grub (*Eccl. Hist.* i. 353) avoids this error.

[His first dated appearance as chancellor of Scotland is 26 Sept. 1357 (B.C. iii. No. 1650), but the grant of the patronage of the church of Alveth by Thomas, earl of Mar, to the abbey of Coupar which he witnesses as chancellor, must be earlier; another witness, John, bishop of Aberdeen, having died in 1355 (charter *penes* earl of Moray).] Patrick was bishop and chancellor 16 March, 1358-9, and 19 Jan. 1369-70, but he had ceased to be chancellor before 15 Feb. 1370-1 (E.R. i. 545; ii. 339, 350).<sup>1</sup>

As chancellor he was a witness on 12 April, 1358 (R.M.S. i. p. 149, No. 107); 5 May, 1360<sup>2</sup> (*Laing Charters*, No. 46); 14 Sept. 1362 (C.P.R. iv. 90); and 7 April, 1370 (*Blackfriars of Perth*, 30).

He witnesses a charter of King Robert II. to Hugh of Eglinton, knight, 4 May, 1371 (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* x. App. i. p. 7). He was present in Parliament on 3 April, 1373 (A.P. i. 562).

Patrick resigned on account of old age and infirmity into the hands of Peter, cardinal of St. Mark, and was granted by the pope (12 Kal. Julii, 1383) a pension, out of the revenues of the see of Brechin, of 100 merks sterling (*Regesta Avignon.* 234, 596). He was at the same date allowed to exercise pontifical rights (with consent of diocesans), to receive pontifical honour and be buried *in pontificalibus* (*ib.* 598).

**STEPHEN** (de Cellerio, de Cellario), archdeacon of Brechin. The see void by the *resignation* of Patrick was filled by the appointment of Stephen, archdeacon of Brechin, 12 June, 1383, by Clement VII. (E. i. 150). He is presumably the same as 'Stephen de Cellerio,' canon of Dunkeld, appointed archdeacon of Brechin, 26 Nov. 1369 (C.P.R. iv. 82), and Stephen de Cellario, archdeacon of Brechin, 24 May, 1372 (R.B. i. 20). The archdeaconry void by the *resignation* of Stephen de Cellario

<sup>1</sup> [He was still chancellor 3 Mar. 1369-70 (R.M.S. ii. 804), but had been succeeded by John de Carrick by 4 April, 1370 (*ib.* ii. 494).]

<sup>2</sup> [A misprint in the date of this charter has been corrected from the original.]

was filled 25 June, 1383, by the appointment of Cuthbert Henrici (*Avignon Regesta*, vol. 232, fol. 145). He was bishop of Brechin 23 Feb. 1384-5, when he erected the church of Lethnot into a prebend of the cathedral (R.B. i. 21). He is referred to at a later period in the phrase 'temporibus Stephani, Walteri, quondam episcoporum Brechinens' (R.B. ii. 86), and in similar language (*ib.* i. 75, 82, 109). He witnessed a charter 12 Aug. 1392 (Wigton Inventory).

He must have died before Whitsunday, 1405; for, as regards the temporality, the see is void from before Whitsunday, 1405, till after Martinmas, 1407 (E.R. iii. 638; iv. 61).

**WALTER FORESTAR**, subdean of Brechin (E. i. 150). Walter, subdean of Brechin, appointed 26 Nov. 1407 by Benedict XIII. (anti-pope) (E. i. 150). Cosmo Innes (R.B. Preface, p. ix) and K. are wrong in making Walter's appointment date 1401. He had been a canon of Aberdeen (Valterus Froster) and prebendary of Mortlach in 1392 (R.A. i. 182),<sup>1</sup> and (apparently as bishop of Brechin) gave to Aberdeen cathedral a 'cappa de blodeo' (*ib.* ii. 141). He appears as bishop in R.M.S. (i. p. 236, No. 35) on 28 Oct. 1408. We have 'Walterum nunc episcopum Brechinensem,' 9 Nov. 1409 (R.B. ii. 17). He is present at the great Council at Perth, 17 March, 1415-6 (A.P. i. 588).

*Consecration.* He does not appear to have been consecrated before 11 May, 1410; for 10 May, 1420, is in the tenth year of his consecration (R.B. ii. 273). G[ualterus] was bishop of Brechin in 1424 (K.).<sup>2</sup> He had a safe-conduct from the king of England to return from Flanders 4 Feb. 1423-4, and to go to Flanders 8 June, 1424 (B.C. iv. Nos. 943, 962). [He was an

<sup>1</sup>[He, or a namesake, graduated (*determinavit*) in Paris in 1375, had been chosen procurator of the English nation several times between 1395 and 1398, had been rector of the University in 1395, and had represented the nation at the second and third Councils of Paris in 1396 and 1398 (*Auct. Chart. Univ. Paris.* i. 464, 700, 714, 721, 731, 779). In 1398 he was shortly to return to his own country (*ib.* 782).]

<sup>2</sup>[The charter referred to by Keith (R.M.S. ii. 110) is certainly of the thirteenth century, and 'Dominus G.' is Gregory (see above).]

auditor in Exchequer in May, 1425 (E.R. iv. 379).] He died probably in 1425 or early in 1426 (see next entry). Walter had been secretary to the king and clerk register.

**JOHN DE CRANACH**, bishop of Caithness [which see.]

Translated to Brechin, 7 June, 1426, by Martin V. See void 'by death of Walter, the last bishop' (E. i. 150; B. i. 137). On 20 Aug. 1426 he paid 'pro integra solutione unius minutii servitii,' 16 florins, 33 shillings, and 4 pence. On 1 July, 1430, John, bishop of Brechin, paid 125 florins (B. l.c.).

John is bishop of Brechin, 22 May, 1429 (R.B. i. 41). He witnessed the foundation charter of the collegiate church of Methven, 1 May, 1433 (C.P.R. viii. 461). [The same year, 30 Aug., he entered into an agreement with Coupar Abbey as to the kirk-land of Glenisla (*penes* earl of Moray).] In 1435 he accompanied the Princess Margaret, daughter of James I., into France to be married to the Dauphin, afterwards Lewis XI. (Sc. xvi. 12). For particulars as to his episcopate, see Cosmo Innes (R.B. i. pp. ix-xi). He is bishop of Brechin and conservator of the privileges of the Scottish Church, 28 June, 1445 (R.B. i. 98-103). He was appointed ambassador to treat for peace with England, 3 Nov. 1449 (B.C. iv. No. 1220). John is bishop of Brechin, 1 Sept. 1451 (R.M.S. ii. No. 493), and on 4 Sept. in the same year (R.B. i. 175-6). The *Auchinleck Chronicle* (pp. 19, 56) places Cranach's death in Aug. 1456: but the next entry shows this to be an error, unless he had resigned before his death; Eubel (ii. 123) makes Schoriswod succeed on the *death* of John Cranach.

David de Cranach, subdean and canon of Dunkeld, was the bishop's brother (C.P.R. viii. 256).

**GEORGE DE SCHORISWOD** (Shorsewood; Vatican Records, in error, 'de Schorisides'), chancellor of Dunkeld. Appointed bishop 8 March, 1453-4 (E. ii. 123). On 15 March, 1453-4, Laurence Pyot, archdeacon of Aberdeen, on behalf of George, elect of Brechin, 'obligavit pro communi servitio dicti electi, ratione provisionis' 500 gold florins and five *minuta servitia*. On 6 May, 1454, James de Nozzis had the bulls of the said provision, and promised the college (of cardinals) either to pay a portion within six months or to restore the bulls (B. i. 138).

George, bishop of Brechin [was an auditor in Exchequer

1 July, 1454 (E.R. v. 609)] ; witnessed at Edinburgh 28 July, 1454 (R.A. i. 261), and on 5 Nov. 1454 (A.P. Supplement, 24).

George seems to have been consecrated in the year commencing 28 April, 1454, for 27 April, 1461, is in the seventh year of his consecration (R.B. ii. 275), and after 10 Sept. 1454, for 10 Sept. 1457 is in the third year of his consecration (*ib.* 274). [In 1456 (17 June) he was appointed papal nuncio in Scotland (*Reg. Vat.* 443, 192).] His brother John (and another) held an *Iter Camerarie* at Brechin, 28 Jan. 1459-60 (R.B. i. 188).

In 1459 George, bishop of Brechin, receives a safe-conduct from the king of England to go on pilgrimage to Durham with forty attendants (B.C. iv. No. 1301).<sup>1</sup> He is bishop of Brechin 26 March, 1462 (Arbroath, ii. 124).

The see was occupied at Martinmas 1462 ; but void (that is, the temporalities were in the hands of the king) at Whitsunday 1463 (E.R. vii. 223-4). This together with the appointment of Graham (see next entry) points to Schoriswod having died at the end of 1462, or early in 1463.

*Other particulars.* According to K. (*q.v.*), of the family of Bedshiel in Berwickshire. [He was clerk of William, earl of Douglas, in 1446 (Melrose, 473).] He was rector of Culter in 1449 (K.). As rector of Culter he witnesses charters of King James II. in 1451 (R.M. 223, 225 ; Paisley, 257), and as rector of Culter and 'our clerk' in 1452 (R.M. 226, 235 ; Scone, 183). [He was also vicar of Haddington, which benefice the pope reserved to James Gray, the day of Schoriswod's appointment to Brechin (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. App. iii. p. 38).] He was the king's confessor (K.) and became chancellor of Scotland.<sup>2</sup>

His seal as bishop of Brechin is described by Macdonald (*Armorial Seals*, No. 2463). There are three shields : the dexter shield with the royal arms of Scotland ; the sinister shield with the arms of Queen Mary of Gueldres ; the shield in base, Schoriswod's personal arms—three lion faces.

**PATRICK GRAHAM**, son of Robert Graham of Fintry, who was eldest son of Sir William Graham of Kincardine, by the

<sup>1</sup> [Also a safe-conduct to England in 1455 (*Rot. Scot.* ii. 374).]

<sup>2</sup> [From 1457 to 1460 (R.M.S. and E.R.).]

Lady Mary Stewart, daughter of King Robert III. Patrick was therefore not brother, but brother's son to Bishop Kennedy. See Herkless and Hannay, *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, i. 12.<sup>1</sup>

He paid his 'commune servitium' for Brechin, 11 May, 1463 (E.). But his appointment made by the pope was before 29 March, 1463, at which date Pius II. speaks of him as elect, and of his having at the time of his promotion held the parish church of Kyunell (Kinnel) in the diocese of St. Andrews (T. No. 828). He appears to have been consecrated between 3 Nov. and 29 Dec. 1464 (see Arbroath, 154, and *Spalding Club Miscellany*, iv. 6).

Translated to St. Andrews by Bull dated 4 Nov. 1465. For some particulars, Herkless and Hannay may be consulted. For his career after his translation, see St. Andrews.

**JOHN BALFOUR**, vicar of Linlithgow and rector of Conveth. Appointed 'per bullas Pauli II.', dated Rome, 29 Nov. 1465. On 9 Dec. 1465 his proctor, in the name of 'John Balfuer, elect of Brechin,' offered 500 gold florins. *Obligaz.* (B. 138). On 15 Dec. 1465 he paid *commune servitium* (E. ii. 123).

On the same day as that of his appointment PP. Paul grants to 'John Balfour, elect of Brechin,' to retain after consecration the parish church of Conveth (Laurencekirk) in the diocese of St. Andrews, which he had possessed for more than nine years (R.B. ii. 413).

[He was consecrated by Mark, bishop of Vicenza, assisted by Athanasius, bishop of Gerace, and Patrick, bishop of St. Andrews, 8 Dec. 1465 (Roman Transcripts, Public Record Office).]<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [He graduated at St. Andrews (see Herkless and Hannay). On 7 June, 1455, he had an indult to hold two incompatible benefices, in which he is said to be in the second and third degrees of consanguinity to King James II., and nephew of James, bishop of St. Andrews, and in his twentieth year or thereby (*Reg. Vat.* 437, 72).]

<sup>2</sup> Brady (138) gives, under date 7 Sept. 1469, 'R.P.D. Leo Episcopus Brichinen. solvit 1600 florenos auri.' *Quietanze.* No such bishop is known to Scottish writers. And as will be seen, John Balfour was still bishop of Brechin on 4 June, 1488. It is almost certain that the error is that of the Roman scribe. Moreover, the sum of 1600 florins, if it were a tax on appointment would be inordinately large for Brechin. I suspect that there is an error of

On 4 June, 1488, 200 lb. of Flemish *grossi* were paid at Antwerp to Gaspar Bonciani, Florentine merchant, by Walter Monopeny, prior of St. Serf's, Lochleven, to be transmitted to Philip Strozzi and Company, for expediting the Bulls for the promotion of William Meldrum, vicar of Brechin, to the see of Brechin, when it should become vacant 'by the resignation or death of the reverend father in Christ, John Balfour, now bishop of Brechin' (R.B. ii. 124). Balfour's death or resignation must have followed soon after: see next entry.

The bishop of Brechin sat in Parliament 14 Oct. 1467 (A.P. ii. 87), and afterwards frequently. He was bishop in 1468, 1472, 1477, 1483 (R.B. ii. 109, 114; R.B. i. 206, 207).

According to Eubel the see became void by the *resignation* of John. [We find John, late bishop of Brechin, on 28 July, 1488, obliging himself for the annate of the canonry and vicarage prebend of Brechin, vacant by William's promotion to the bishopric (Roman Transcripts, Public Record Office)] Balfour's seal to a charter of 1476 is described by Macdonald (*Armorial Seals*, No. 73). Beneath a representation of the Trinity a shield, ensigned with a mitre, bearing arms: On a chevron between three crescents, each enclosing a cross crosslet fitchée, as many otter heads couped.

**WILLIAM MELDRUM**, M.A., vicar and canon of Brechin. (Not *Walter*, as K.). Appointed 4 July, 1488 (E. ii. 123). Meldrum is described as 'ad presens episcopus Brechinensis in Scotia' on 3 Jan. 1489, *i.e.* after the Roman computation, or (*more Scoto*) 3 Jan. 1488-9, in a deed executed at Antwerp of this date. In this deed he is procuring money for expediting his Bulls at Rome (R.B. ii. 131). He was 'elect' 30 Jan. 1488-9, and 'bishop,' 7 July, 1489 (*Acta Dom. Conc.* 103, 121). He must have been consecrated before 12 Aug. 1489, for 12 Aug. 1512 is in the twenty-fourth year of his consecration (R.B. ii. 299); and, perhaps, before 7 July, 1489.

Mr. Patrick Chalmers, of Aldbar, editor of R.B. (in a manuscript note furnished me by James Bruce, Esq., W.S.) says he

'Brichinen.' for 'Brixinen.', and that the bishop was Leo de Spauer who was appointed to Brixen in the Tyrol, 9 Aug. 1469, and was making a part payment of his *commune servitium*.

‘appears to have been of the family of Meldrum of Seggie, as the bearings in the second and third quarters of his shield are those of that branch of the Meldrum family, viz. a chevron charged with an otter’s head: the first and fourth give an otter salient with a mullet in sinister point for difference. See also Macdonald’s *Armorial Seals*, Nos. 1933, 1934.

The see was vacant 19 March, 1515-6, on which day the temporalities, during vacancy, were granted to James Ogilvy, postulate of Dryburgh (R.S.S. i. 2727).<sup>1</sup>

The third volume of Eubel’s *Hierarchia Catholica* not having yet appeared,<sup>2</sup> one has to rely on Brady for notices in the Vatican and other Italian records.

**JOHN HEPBURN.**<sup>3</sup> [Provided 29 Oct. 1516 (*Obligazioni* in Archivio di Stato, Rome). His Bulls, according to the index of a lost volume of the Lateran Regesta, contained a dispensation for defect of age; so the delay in consecrating him is accounted for.]

John was bishop 10 March, 1516-7 (R.S.S. i. 2874); and 10 May, 1518 (R.B. ii. 173).

As to his consecration, we find that June, 1541, is in the eighteenth year of his consecration (R.B. ii. 194); [31 Jan. 1542-3 is in the nineteenth year of his consecration (Protocol Book of E. Dikson, Advocates’ Library, fol. 85)]; 23 Feb. 1552-3 is in the thirty-first year (R.B. ii. 310); 27 March, 1556, is in the thirty-sixth year (*Laing Charters*, No. 648); and 6 Oct. 1556 is in the thirty-third year of his consecration (R.B. ii. 300). Which is right?<sup>4</sup> I take it that he was consecrated after June, 1522, and before 23 Feb. 1523.

<sup>1</sup> The Meldrum family were largely represented in the chapter of Brechin during William’s episcopate. In 1509 William Meldrum was precentor, Thomas Meldrum was subdean, and John Meldrum was prebendary of Burtergyll (R.B. ii. 304).

<sup>2</sup> [It was published in 1910.]

<sup>3</sup> [As to his parentage, see *Scots Peerage*, ii. 155.]

<sup>4</sup> [Evidently the data (to which additions could be made) are irreconcilable. The two earliest taken by themselves would fix the consecration between Feb. and June, 1524; but there is no certainty.]

His was an episcopate of great length. He appears frequently in Parliament; first apparently 16 Nov. 1524; for the last time 15 Dec. 1543 (A.P. ii. 285, 443). He is bishop in 1552 (R.B. i. 227-8). We find John, bishop of Brechin, with his chapter signing a charter on 27 June, 1556 (R.B. ii. 204); again 6 Oct. 1556 (as above); [and again 27 March, 1557 (R.M.S. v. 1294)].

Lesley (D.R.G. p. 539; and in Bannatyne edit. p. 267) represents his death as being in 1558 (apparently in Aug. or early in Sept.). But this must be an error, for the see was vacant before 22 May, 1557, when John Erskine of Dun was appointed bailie of the temporality of the see, void by Bishop John's death. Again, Archibald (4th) earl of Argyll, obtained a gift of the temporality 1 Nov. 1557 (R.S.S. xxviii. 70; xxix. 7). This earl of Argyll died some time between 21 Aug. and 2 Dec. 1558 (see evidences in D. Laing's *Knox's Works*, i. 290 note). Again there is in R.S.S. xxix. 53 (29 March, 1558) a letter to the queen dowager of gift of the temporality of Brechin till the Bulls of John's successor be 'brocht hame.'

Bishop Hepburn's seal is attached to a charter of 27 March, 1556. The seal has, beneath a representation of the Trinity, a shield, ensigned with a mitre, bearing arms: on a chevron two lions pulling at a rose. (See Macdonald's *Armorial Seals*, No. 1330.)

The see is still void 4 Dec. 1558 (R.B. ii. 280-81).

*DONALD CAMPBELL*, abbot of Cupar. Lesley (D.R.G. 539) represents the abbot of Cupar as succeeding, nominated by the queen (Bannatyne edit. p. 267). This Donald Campbell was a son of Archibald (2nd) earl of Argyll. But this presents an interesting example of the caution that must be exercised before accepting the accounts of even a contemporary historian, and one who was from his position, as we might reasonably suppose, well qualified to give accurate information. For, as a matter of fact, Campbell did not succeed to the bishopric. He was unable to obtain a papal confirmation. Possibly we may understand Lesley to mean no more than that at the instance of the queen (*Reginae beneficio*) he was elected by the chapter. There is an important letter from James Thornton (Rome) 18 Sept. 1558, printed by R. Vans Agnew (*Correspondence of Sir*

*Patrick Waus*, p. 10), in which the following passage occurs: 'As to the maiter of Brechin, the expeditioun thairoff will nocht be grantit to my lord of Cupyr, but gyff he dimitte the monaster, reserwan onlye half fruittis thairoff induring hys days: . . . So apoun the premisses I haiff vrettin in Julii last to the quenis grace and my lord of Cupyr.'

For the efforts made by the Regent Arran in 1549 to have Campbell promoted to Dunkeld, see under Dunkeld.

Campbell, it appears, had written from Edinburgh on 6 Feb. 1558-9 to John Row, his agent at Rome. His letter was received at Rome on 17 April; and on 11 May, Row replied. From Row's letter (*Analecta Scotica*, vol. ii. second series, pp. 381-2) we can gather that Campbell was seeking in the usual way to induce the pope to allow him to hold the abbey of Cupar *in commendam*, and to obtain leave to change his habit (*i.e.* to abandon the dress of a Cistercian monk). Row speaks of the matter as 'wynderous difficile to be obtenit by ressoun of thir impediments.' But there was probably some other impediment of a more serious kind.

His seal as abbot of Cupar is described by Macdonald (*Armorial Seals*, No. 345).

He died towards the end of 1562, being then Lord Privy Seal (see Dr. Rogers' *Rental Book of Cupar*, i. 107).<sup>1</sup> On 20 Jan. 1562-3 Archibald, earl of Argyll, obtained a grant of the 'twa-pairt' of the abbacy since the death of Donald (R.S.S. xxxi. 61).

**JOHN SINCLAIR**, dean of Restalrig: styled in the papal provision 'priest of the diocese of St. Andrews.' On 7 Sept. 1565 he was advanced to the see of Brechin, 'void by death

<sup>1</sup>Campbell had been commended to the pope for the abbacy of Cupar by the king; and the commendation was ratified by Parliament 14 June, 1526 (A.P. ii. 302). As abbot of Cupar, he was frequent in his attendance in Parliament. He appears as an extraordinary Lord of Session 2 July, 1541. We find him as Privy Seal 30 Jan. 1553-4 (Holyrood, 290). [But he was not actually in office as such till 21 June, 1554 (R.S.S. xxvii. 68). Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, who succeeded him, was appointed 20 Dec. 1562 (*ib.* xxxi. 55).] The abbot is said to have left five illegitimate sons: see Dr. Rogers (*I.c.* pp. 111-2).

of its bishop.<sup>1</sup> At the prayers of the queen he is allowed by the pope to retain the deanery of Restarling (Restalrig). *Corsini*. (B. 138).

John Sinclair was brother of Henry Sinclair, bishop of Ross, and succeeded him as president of the Court of Session [and appears as such in the sederunt, 12 Nov. 1565]. Shortly before his appointment to Brechin he had, as dean of Restalrig, been honoured by being called on to celebrate the marriage of the Queen with Darnley (29 July, 1565).

His consecration seems doubtful. [In the sederunts of the Court of Session he is styled dean of Restalrig, 14 Jan. 1565-6, bishop of Brechin the following day (Brunton and Haig, p. 64)]. He died, the last bishop of this see having appointment from the pope, in April, 1566. The *Diurnal of Occurrents* (p. 98) says he died in James Mosman's house in Forrester's Wynd, Edinburgh, 9 April, 1566.<sup>2</sup> He was dead 6 May, 1566, when King Henry and Queen Mary granted the revenues of the see (void by the death of John Sinclair) 'tam spiritualitatis quam temporalitatis' to Alexander Campbell (R.S.S. xxxv. 25; printed in R.B. ii. 328).

<sup>1</sup> Observe that the name of the deceased bishop is not given.

<sup>2</sup> This prelate is especially provocative of the rancour of Knox. Knox indeed admits that both he and his brother Henry were 'learned in the laws,' but seldom misses an opportunity of indulging his customary coarse invective. As giving information of a bodily infirmity we may cite one passage,—'Sinclar, deane of Restalrig, and bischope of Brechin, blynd of ane eie in the body, but of boithe in his saule, upoun whome God schortlie after took vengeance,' etc. (*Works*, i. 235).

## The Bishops of Dunblane (Dumblane)

THE bishopric of Dunblane, occasionally styled the bishopric of Stratherne, would appear to have been founded, or, perhaps, to be more correct, restored, about the year 1150.

**LAURENCE.** In a Bull of Pope Adrian IV., dated 27 Feb. 1155, addressed to the Scottish bishops by name, we find 'La(urentius) de Dubblan.' This document was first printed, I think, by W. Nicolson in his *Scottish Historical Library* (1702), and in the best edition of that work (1776) it will be found at page 107. It is also printed in Wilkins' *Concilia* (i. 481), and more correctly in Haddan and Stubbs (II. i. 231). The print in all cases is professedly from the MS. in the British Museum (Cleopatra, C. 4). The text as printed by Haddan and Stubbs (doubtless correctly) is as given above. In the other reproductions we find 'M. de Dunblan.'<sup>1</sup> Hence Keith naturally gives 'M.' as the first bishop of Dunblane. There is no good reason for questioning the authenticity of the Bull. From charter evidence we find Laurence, bishop of Dunblane in the reign of Malcolm the Maiden, with Ernald, bishop of St. Andrews (1160-62) (Dunferml. 24). He is witness to a charter of Richard, bishop of St. Andrews (1163-78), with Gregory, bishop of Dunkeld, who died (probably) in 1169, and Osbert, abbot of Jedworth († 1174) (R.P.S.A. 133). There is in the *Chartulary of Cambuskenneth* (No. 219) a charter of L(aurentius), bishop of Dunblane, witnessed, *inter alios*, by Richard, bishop of St. Andrews, 'Sams(on),' bishop of Brechin,

<sup>1</sup> [It is right to say that M. is the natural reading; no one who did not know that the name ought to be Laurence would have thought of reading La.]

Andrew, bishop of Caithness, and Nicholas, chancellor. The death of Nicholas was in 1171 (*Chronicle of Melrose*, s.a.), which limits the date of the charter to between Bishop Richard's election (1163) and 1171. Another witness is 'Matthew, archdeacon of St. Andrews'; he was elected bishop of Aberdeen in 1172.

**SYMON, or SYMEON.** Witnesses, with 'Turpin, elect of Brechin,' a charter of Hugh, bishop of St. Andrews (consecrated 1178), with Simon, bishop of Moray (died 1184) (R.P.S.A. 147). Elsewhere we find 'Turpin, elect of Brechin' in 1178 (Arbroath, i. 9). This, I think, is the earliest evidence for Symon. The length of Turpin's continuing 'elect' is uncertain, but he was probably consecrated in or before 1180. Again, Symon, bishop of Dunblane, witnesses a charter of King William with Simon, bishop of Moray (1171 to 17 Sept. 1184) (Arbroath, i. 16). Again he witnesses with Osbert, abbot of Kelso (1180-1203), and Erkenbald, abbot of Dunfermline (1178-1198) (Melrose, 33, 35). Again, there is a charter granted by Symon, witnessed by Wido, abbot of Lindores (not earlier than 1191), and Adam, abbot of Cupar (1189-1194) (Arbroath, i. 145). Symon witnesses a charter of Gilbert, earl of Stratherne, about 1195 (Inchaffray, No. ii.). There is Jonathan, archdeacon of Dunblane, in Bishop Symon's time (North Berwick, 7; Cambuskenneth, No. 221), who was probably the successor of Symon.

**JONATHAN.** We find him bishop before the death of Gilchrist († 1198), eldest son of Gilbert, earl of Stratherne (Inchaffray, No. iii.), and of Erkenbald, abbot of Dunfermline (1178-1198) (Arbroath, i. 146). Again, he witnesses with Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen (died 1199) (R.P.S.A. 319). Jonathan witnessed in 1200 what is called the foundation charter of Inchaffray (Inchaffray, No. ix.). He was a papal judge-delegate with R(ichard de Prebenda), bishop of Dunkeld (1203-1210) (Melrose, 135).

He witnesses a charter of Roger, bishop of St. Andrews, in the year 1202 and before 7 July, on which day Roger died. See Lindores, 129, and the note on the date of the charter, p. 267.

Jonathan died in 1210 and was buried at Inchaffray (Sc. viii. 73).

We find him styled 'Episcopus de Stratheren' (R.P.S.A. 319).<sup>1</sup>

**ABRAHAM.** The son of a priest (T. No. 6). He is not improbably to be identified with Abraham who appears frequently as chaplain of Earl Gilbert. Presumably he succeeded immediately after the death of Jonathan. He appears as 'elect' of Dunblane in No. xxviii. of the Inchaffray charters. He was consecrated by William Malvoisine, bishop of St. Andrews (T. *l.c.*). He is bishop before 23 Jan. 1214-5, as he is mentioned in a Bull of Innocent III. of that date (Lindores, 113). He is bishop in the fourth year of Honorius III., after 7 Feb. 1219-20 (Dunferml. 66, 68). He is papal judge-delegate on several occasions. He appears frequently in the Inchaffray charters. If he is to be identified with Abraham the earl's chaplain, he had a son named Arthur (No. xxvi. of Inchaffray charters). The date of his death is not found in the chronicles.

**RALPH (RADULFUS),** 'elect of Dunblane,' appears in the time of Robert, earl of Stratherne, and of Innocent, abbot of Inchaffray (Arbroath, i. 59). We have no evidence that

<sup>1</sup> W[illelmus ?]. Spottiswoode (i. 214) records a 'William, bishop of Dunblane,' of early date, whom he places after Bishop Abraham, and identifies him with William de Bosco, chancellor of the king. We cannot conjecture what were Spottiswoode's sources of information. But it is certain that there is an undated charter of 'W.' bishop of Dunblane, conceding and confirming to the canons of Cambuskenneth the church of Kincardin with its chapels, etc., 'as the charter of King William testifies.' The witnesses are not helpful in determining the date (Cambusk. 160). [They suggest that if William really existed, he ought to be placed before Jonathan.] They are 'archdeacon Jonathan, my chaplain, Cormac, Malpole, prior of the Keledei, parson of Mothell, Michael and his chaplain Machbeth, Master Symon, physician, Martin, seneschal, Richard, chaplain of the earl, and John, chancellor of the earl, Henry, chaplain, Malis, parson of Dunblane, Bean, master of Dunblane,' and seven other still more obscure persons. The earl is, of course, the earl of Stratherne.

My principal reason for placing 'W.' before rather than after Abraham is this: two further confirmations of this church, one by

Radulfus was consecrated. Honorius III. writes, 12 Jan. 1225-6, to the bishops of St. Andrews, Moray, and Caithness, stating that 'our beloved son R. elected bishop of Dunblane' had in his presence resigned. He directs the three bishops to enjoin a new election, and to confirm the election if they were satisfied as to canonical character of the election and the fitness of the elect (*Reg. Vat.* 13, 105, ep. 152). Presumably Osbert was elected soon after.

**OSBERT.** In the *Chartulary of Cambuskenneth* (No. 126) the chapter of Dunblane records having inspected (30 Jan. 1239-40) charters of Bishops Symon, Jonathan, Abraham, Osbert, and Clement. And again (*ib.* No. 124) we find a confirmation granted by Osbert, bishop of Dunblane, to Cambuskenneth, witnessed by H. abbot of Holyrood, and O. prior of the same. Assuming that 'H.' is Helias, who became abbot in 1227 (Sc. ix. 46), Osbert's confirmation must be placed between that date and 1231, when he died, being professed a canon of Holyrood (*ib.* ix. 48). [O. bishop of Stratherne attended a council held at Dundee in 1230 (agreement, *penes* earl of Moray).]

**CLEMENT**, a Dominican friar, was apparently provided by Gregory IX., who gave authority to the bishops of St. Andrews, Brechin, and Dunkeld to choose a bishop for Dunblane (T. No. 91). The church was in a state of decay. The service was

Abraham and the following by Osbert appear in immediate succession to this charter by 'W.' And confirmations of particular possessions are commonly in this chartulary arranged in chronological order. Keith also, it may be added, places William before Abraham. W.'s tenure of office, if 'W.' is not an error for 'S.' (Symeon), as I suspect, was doubtless brief, and the above charter is (so far as I know) the only appearance of this bishop in record. I know no reason for, and weighty reasons against, Spottiswoode's identification of Bishop William with William de Bosco the chancellor. It is rather strange that in a confirmation of the grant of Kincardin by the chapter of Dunblane, in the time of Bishop Clement, mention is made of their having inspected instruments of confirmation by Simon, Jonathan, Abraham, and Osbert, but no mention is made of 'W.' [See a more decided expression of the author's opinion that W. is a mistake for S., Inchaffray, 258.]

carried on by a 'capellanus ruralis.' There was no residence for a bishop. There was no 'collegium,' and, presumably, no attempt at an election. He was consecrated by William, bishop of St. Andrews, at Wedale on the day of the translation of St. Cuthbert (4 Sept.), 1233 (M.). As might have been expected, 4 Sept. 1233 was a Sunday. We find him bishop of Dunblane 1 May, 1234 (Newbattle, 132), in Aug. 1234 (Inchaffray, Nos. 60, 61), 1 June, 1235 (Scone, 42).

In 1237 (11 June) Pope Gregory IX. informs the bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld that the bishop of Dunblane had in his presence described the wretched state to which the church of Dunblane and its revenues had been reduced. The bishop's income was scarcely sufficient to support one decently for half a year; and the see was for nearly ten years destitute of the solace of a pastor. This last statement we may perhaps explain by supposing that Osbert had been unable to live at Dunblane and had early in his episcopate retired to Holyrood. But, however this may have been, the pope commands the two bishops personally to investigate the accuracy of Clement's statement, and, if they saw it to be well founded, they were to assign to the bishop (if it could be done without scandal) a fourth part of the tithes of all the parish churches of the diocese of Dunblane, out of which, after a fitting portion had been reserved for his own support, he was to assign portions to the dean and canons whom the pope commands the two bishops to institute in that place. As an alternative course the pope directs that to the bishop should be assigned the fourth part of the tithes of those churches of the diocese which were held by seculars, and that the episcopal seat should be transferred to the monastery of the canons regular of St. John, in the aforesaid diocese (that is, to Inchaffray), the canons of which were to have the election of the bishop whenever the see was void (T. No. 91). Thus near was Inchaffray to becoming the seat of a bishopric. It is certain that the second course was not followed. Whether the first course was to any extent followed is uncertain. [On 1 Oct. 1243, and again 5 June in the twentieth year of his episcopate (1253), he granted indulgences to visitors to Durham Cathedral (*Rites of Durham*, 150).]

Clement was appointed by Pope Innocent IV. (23 Oct. 1247)

collector in Scotland of the twentieths of ecclesiastical revenues for the Holy Land subsidy (T. No. 128). He witnesses a charter of Alexander II. 12 Feb. 1248-9 (Cambusk. No. 53). And on 8 July, 1249, the very day of the death of Alexander II., the king granted to 'the see of the bishopric of Argyll' the parish church of S. Brigid in Lorne *ad meusam episcopalem* by a charter, dated Keruerhey (Kerrera) witnessed by 'C.' bishop of Dunblane (R.M.S. ii. 3136).

He is at Stirling with the king (Alexander III.) on 17 Dec. 1253 (A.P. i. 426; and Dunferml. 49).

Clement died according to Sc. (x. 11) in 1256; according to the *Chronicle of Melrose* in 1258. I am not aware of evidence to show which of these two authorities is to be accepted as correct.

A eulogy on Clement as a great preacher and skilled in various tongues will be found in *Scotichronicon* (*loc. cit.*) where his restoration of the fabric of his cathedral and the enrichment of the endowments effected during his episcopate are noticed.<sup>1</sup>

A dispute between the bishop of Dunblane and Walter Cumyng, earl of Menteith, arising out of the ordinance as to the fourth to be paid to the bishop, was adjusted by papal judges-delegate on 1 July, 1238. See No. 11 in the Appendix to the Preface of *Liber Insule Missarum*, pp. xxix-xxxii.

**ROBERT**, known as Robert de Prebenda, dean of Dunblane, canon of Glasgow, and canon of Dunkeld. The earliest notice which I have found of this prelate in any authentic document is in R.G. (i. 166) where he appears as 'R. by divine permission elect of the church of Dunblane, and canon of Glasgow.' The writ is dated 'The morrow of the Circumcision of the Lord (2 Jan.) 1258,' *i.e.* 2 Jan. 1258-9. He is still elect on 13 Aug. 1259 (C.P.R. i. 367) and also on 22 Aug. of the same year (*ib.*). I suspect that the delay as to his consecration may have arisen from the difficulty he may have had in raising

<sup>1</sup> [According to *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum*, 1896, p. 485, he was a Scot by birth, was admitted into the Order of Friars Preachers at Paris in 1219, and was appointed by St. Dominic himself to lead the first colony of the order into Scotland (communicated by Mr. W. Moir Bryce).]

money for the expediting of his Bulls at Rome. At any rate, on 13 Aug. 1259, Pope Alexander IV. granted to 'Robert, elect of Dunblane,' an indult to take and convert to the payment of the debts of the see the first-fruits of all benefices and dignities falling vacant in the diocese during three years (C.P.R. *ut supra*). According to the *Chronicle of Melrose* while Robert was still elect of Dunblane he had gone to Rome in 1259, and there sought to oust Nicholas, elect of Glasgow, and get himself appointed to that valuable prelacy. However he returned unsuccessful, and apparently consecrated to the see to which he had been elected. [He granted an indulgence to visitors to Durham Cathedral, 12 Sept. 1260 (*Rites of Durham*, 155).] He is bishop in 1281 (Cambusk. No. 1).

The latest references I have found to Robert are the vigil of St. Luke (*i.e.* 17 Oct.) 1282 (*ib.* No. 49), and 25 March, 1283 (Inchaffray, No. 113). Robert was an Englishman, and appears to have had property in the county of Nottingham.<sup>1</sup> He was much favoured by Henry III. (see B.C. i. 2395, 2443, 2656).

**WILLIAM**, abbot of Arbroath, succeeded Robert de Prebenda. He had been elected *concorditer*; but, some opposition perhaps being made at Rome, William resigned any right he may have had through his election into the hands of the pope, Martin IV., who thereupon provided him to the see and caused him to receive consecration from O(rdonius, cardinal), bishop of Tusculum, probably a day or two before 18 Dec. 1284, when the pope writes to him, and sends concurrent letters, announcing his appointment and consecration to the clergy and people of 'the city and diocese' of Dunblane, and to Malise, earl of Stratherne, 'patron of the church of Dunblane' (Theiner, No. 284).

This is the William, bishop of Dunblane, mentioned in the charter printed by Mr. Cosmo Innes in the Appendix to the Preface of *Liber Insule Missarum* (p. xxxvii). Like many other prelates, he took the oath of fealty to Edward I. of England

<sup>1</sup> [There is a notice of Bishop Robert in the *Scottish Historical Review* for July, 1911 (viii. 439); from which we learn that he was son of Geoffrey de Rotyngton (Ruddington, near Nottingham), had a brother Adam and a nephew Richard Martel of Rutyngton.]

(12 July, 1291, B.C. ii. No. 508). He was one of the forty commissioners chosen by Baliol in his controversy with Bruce, 5 June, 1292 (*Fœd.* i. 767).

William must have died, at latest, in August, 1296.

**ALPIN.** On the death of William, the dean and chapter convened for the election of his successor. They proceeded *per viam compromissi*; and the *compromissarii* were Thomas, abbot of Inchaffray, precentor of Dunblane, and two canons of the same church, Henry, abbot of Aberbrothoc, and Patrick, abbot of Cambuskenneth, together with the dean, the archdeacon, the chancellor, the treasurer, and two other canons (all named). Their commission was to elect a bishop 'de ipsius ecclesie gremio'; and they chose unanimously Alpin, a canon of the church of Dunblane, who in addition to the ordinary qualifications was represented to the pope as possessing 'nobilitatem generis.' The pope confirmed the election, and caused Alpin to be consecrated by M(atthew, cardinal), bishop of Porto. Boniface VIII. dates the letter giving this account at St. Peter's, Rome, 16 Oct. 1296, on which day also concurrent letters were written to the clergy and people of the 'city and diocese of Dunblane,' and to the earl of Stratherne, 'patron of the church of Dunblane.'<sup>1</sup>

Alpin's rule of his diocese was short, for we find—

**NICHOLAS**, abbot of Arbroath, consecrated at Rome, probably a day or two before the 13 Nov. 1301 when the pope wrote to him from the Lateran, recounting, in the usual form, that on the death of Alpin, the dean and chapter convened, and after discussion proceeded to an election *per viam scrutinii*. Votes were given for Nicholas and for certain other canons of Dunblane. Nicholas resorted forthwith to the Apostolic See. The others elected did not appear either in person or by their proctors who were long waited for. At length Nicholas resigned any right he may have had through his election, and was thereupon appointed by the plenitude of apostolic power. He was by order of the pope (Boniface VIII.) consecrated by Theodoric, bishop of Palestrina (T. No. 369).

<sup>1</sup>The documents are printed in full in Stevenson's *Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland*, ii. 115-8. See also T. No. 355.

This Nicholas was succeeded by another Nicholas, a fact not hitherto noticed so far as I am aware. The ignorance of this fact has not unnaturally caused some confusion.

**NICHOLAS DE BALMYLE**, canon of Dunblane. He had been chancellor of Scotland. He appears as such on the Tuesday next before the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary (*i.e.* on 31 Jan.), 1300-1 (R.P.S.A. 120).<sup>1</sup>

He was consecrated probably a day or two before 11 Dec. 1307 when Pope Clement V. writes to 'Nicholas, bishop of Dunblane,' recounting that on the death of Nicholas (his predecessor) the dean and chapter of Dunblane proceeded to elect. The method was *per viam compromissi*. The *compromissarii* were the dean, Maurice, abbot of Inchaffray (who was immediate successor of Nicholas in the see of Dunblane), William, abbot of Lindores, Michael, abbot of Cambuskenneth, William of Eglisham, Henry of Stirling, and Nicholas of Balmyle himself. They were commissioned by the chapter to elect a bishop from among themselves, or at least *de gremio ecclesie*. His colleagues directed their votes *concorditer* upon Nicholas, then a priest. With proctors of the chapter Nicholas resorted to the Apostolic See. The pope confirmed the election, and caused the elect to be consecrated by N(icholas), bishop of Ostia. Dated at Poictiers, 11 Dec. 1307. Concurrent letters were sent by the pope to the dean and chapter, and to Malise, earl of Stratherne, or 'whoever then held the earldom' (Theiner, No. 386).

He appears as 'Nicholaus de Balmyle, ecclesie Dunblanensis episcopus' in the famous declaration of the Scottish Church in favour of Robert Bruce, at Dundee, 24 Feb. 1309-10 (A.P. i. 460). We find him bishop 12 Sept. 1311 (Cambusk. No. 105), and 12 April, 1312 (Arbroath, ii. 536), 9 March, 1316-7 (Arbroath, ii. 537), and 24 July, 1317 (Melrose, 384).

He must have died *at latest* in the spring of 1320, for we find Edward II. of England on 25 June, 1320, petitioning the pope to appoint Richard of Pontefract, a Dominican friar. But the

<sup>1</sup> [In 1296 he was parson of Calder-comitis; as such he did homage 28 Aug., and had an order to restore his temporalities 2 Sept. (B.C. ii. p. 213; *Rot. Scot.* i. 25).]

death of Nicholas de Balmyle was perhaps as early as 1318. See next entry (*Fæd.* ii. 428).<sup>1</sup>

**MAURICE**, abbot of Inchaffray, and precentor of Dunblane. Although Maurice was not consecrated till March, 1321-2, it seems probable that his election took place a considerable time before that date. The matter was long litigated at Rome. And in the R.A. (i. 44, 45) we find a charter of King Robert I. purporting to be dated on Tuesday next after the feast of St. Andrew (that is Tuesday, 5 Dec.) 1318, in which Maurice witnesses as 'bishop of Dunblane.' We can only assume, if the date of the charter be correct, that he was so styled, though only elect.

The part played by Maurice, then abbot of Inchaffray, in encouraging the Scottish troops before the battle of Bannockburn, is too well known to be recounted here. One can easily believe that King Robert would have favoured his election to a bishopric. The following is the account given in the letter of John XXII. 5 March, 1321-2 to 'Maurice, elect of Dunblane' (T. No. 441). On the death of Nicholas (de Balmyle) the chapter were divided in their views; some of the canons elected Maurice, precentor of Dunblane, in priest's orders, others Master Roger de Balnebrich, rector of the church of Ferrewict (For-teviot?) in the diocese of St. Andrews. Both parties gave their assent to their election, and both proceeded to the Apostolic See for confirmation. A long litigation followed; and at length both the elected resigned all their rights into the hands of the pope. Eventually the pope provides Maurice to the see. A few days later Maurice was consecrated at Avignon by Berengarius, cardinal bishop of Porto, and was ordered to betake himself to Dunblane, 23 March, 1321-2 (T. No. 443). The perplexity of the pope, whose sympathies were with the king of England, doubtless, contributed to the delay in filling up the see of Dunblane.

On 22 April, 1322, not two months after the date of his provision, Maurice, bishop of Dunblane, and the bishop of Winchester, are ordered by the pope to excommunicate the bishop of St. Andrews as an abettor of Robert de Brus. Another

<sup>1</sup> [The warrant to issue this letter is dated 30 Jan. 1319-20 (B.C. iii. No. 689); which puts Nicholas' death a little earlier.]

mandate of the same date was addressed to the same to excommunicate Bishops William of Dunkeld, Henry of Aberdeen, and David of Moray (*ib.* No. 445). On 3 Aug. 1323, Maurice was appointed by King Robert as a commissioner to examine the muniments of Scone and report on those carried away by the English (Scone, 101). [He attended a Scottish council at Scone in March, 1324-5, where a papal Bull in favour of the Cistercian Order was produced (*Inspximus, penes* earl of Moray).]

The exact date of Maurice's death is unknown ; but it cannot have been later than the summer of 1347. See next entry.

The latest appearance, so far as I know, of Maurice in record is his petitioning the pope, with six other Scottish bishops and the kings of Scotland and France, that he would grant a dispensation to Robert Steward of Scotland to marry Elizabeth More, although there were canonical impediments. The date of the petition does not appear. It was not dealt with by the pope till 22 Nov. 1347, the month after Maurice's successor was consecrated (C.P.R. Pet. i. 124).

**WILLIAM**, canon of Dunblane. Clement VI., writing from Avignon, 23 Oct. 1347 to 'William, bishop of Dunblane,' recounts that after the death of Maurice, the dean and chapter, ignorant of the pope's having reserved the appointment, elected 'thee, a canon of that church, being a priest, *concorditer*' ; and William being, as he alleged, ignorant of the reservation, resorted to the Apostolic See for confirmation. The appointment accordingly belonged to the pope, who, taking into account the wishes of the dean and chapter, provided William to the see, and caused him to be consecrated by John, cardinal bishop of Porto. Concurrent letters of the same date were sent to the clergy and people of the 'city and diocese of Dunblane,' and to the earl of Stratherne (T. No. 576).

We find him bishop of Dunblane in 1353-4 (Dunferml. 266) ; 1354 (Kelso, 385, 389) ; 1357 (B.C. iii. No. 1650 ; *Fæd.* iii. 378) ; 11 April, 1358 (Inchaffray, No. 132).

He must have died, at latest, early in 1361 : see next entry.

**WALTER DE COVENTRE**, dean of Aberdeen. Innocent VI. writes on 18 June, 1361, to 'Walter, elect of Dunblane.' He recounts that on the death of William, the chapter, ignorant

perchance of the pope having reserved the see to his own provision, elected Walter, a priest, dean of Aberdeen. The election was made *concorditer*. Walter, as he asserted, was likewise ignorant of the pope's reservation, and resorted to the Apostolic See for confirmation. The pope pronounced the election to be null and void, as contrary to the reservation. But he appoints Walter to the see. Concurrent letters of the same date were sent to the clergy and people of the city and diocese of Dunblane, to all the vassals of the church of Dunblane, to Robert, earl of Stratherne, and to David, king of Scotland (T. No. 644). Spottiswoode (*History of the Church of Scotland*, i. 214) gives Walter the name Cambuslang. But that his name was really Coventre we learn from the pope's granting (3 March, 1362-3) a petition of Andrew Ox for confirmation of the collation of the church of Invyrarite, void by the promotion of Walter de Coventre, bishop of Dunblane (C.P.R. Pet. i. 409).<sup>1</sup> Walter had been a pluralist on a large scale, for beside the church just mentioned, he had held the deanery of Aberdeen, a prebend at Dunkeld, and a prebend at Ross (*ib.* 325).<sup>2</sup>

In 1364-5 Walter issued letters reducing the number of the canons of the collegiate church of SS. Mary and Bridget, Abernethy, from ten to five (C.P.R. iv. 215). He witnessed the fourteen years' truce between Scotland and England, 20 July, 1369 (*Fæd.* iii. 877).

He took the oath of fealty to the new king, Robert II., 27 March, 1371 (A.P. i. 545).

**ANDREW**, archdeacon of Dunblane.<sup>3</sup> Elect, provided by Gregory XI., 27 April, 1372 (E.). He appended his seal to the

<sup>1</sup> [See also A.P. i. 545.]

<sup>2</sup> Several notices of Walter de Coventre at earlier dates will be found in C.P.R. vol. iii. He was M.A. and licentiate in civil law in 1345 (148); archdeacon of Dunblane (198). In 1349 he received an indult to receive the fruits of the deanery of Aberdeen for five years while studying civil law at some university, he being only a subdeacon. He was then a D.C.L. (351). See also pp. 413, 435, 480. [He graduated as determinant at Paris in 1333 (*Auct. Chart. Univ. Paris.* i. 14).]

<sup>3</sup> [He was archdeacon in 1365 (Inchaffray, No. 135).]

Act made at Scone, 4 April, 1373, whereby the succession to the crown was settled (A.P. i. 549).

**DOUGAL** (Dugallus),<sup>1</sup> canon of Dunblane, elect, provided on the death of Andrew by Pope Clement VII., 20 Sept. 1380 (E.). He sent a long roll of petitions to Benedict XIII. which were dealt with 25, 26 Oct. 1394 (C.P.R. Pet. i. 591-2). He is a witness [to a charter by David, earl palatine of Stratherne to John Rollo, 13 Feb. 1380-1 (Brit. Mus. Campbell ch. xxx. 19); also] to a charter granted at Stirling, 1 Oct. 1392, by Euphan, countess of Ross (Wigton Inventory).

**FINLAY**, according to Spottiswoode commonly called Dermoch, archdeacon of Dunblane, elect, provided by Benedict XIII., 10 Sept. 1403 (E.).<sup>2</sup>

He was bishop Nov. 1406 and Oct. 1408 (R.M.S. i. 227, 236). He was in the general council at Perth 17 March, 1415-6 (A.P. i. 588). Finlay built the bridge at Dunblane; he died in 1419 (Sc. xv. 31).

**WILLIAM (STEPHEN)**, or Stephens, or Stephenson; *Willelmus Stephani*, Sc. xv. 22); reader in canon law in the University of St. Andrews at its first institution; bishop of Orkney, translated to Dunblane by Martin V. 30 Oct. 1419 (E.; C.P.R. vii. 133). He was elected conservator at the provincial synod held at Perth 16 July, 1420 (S.E.S. ii. 77: see R.B. i. 38).

He witnessed a charter of Murdoch, duke of Albany, 28 Oct. 1420 (Pollok, i. 156). He was auditor and receiver of the tax for the ransom of James I. in 1424 (Sc. xvi. 9: compare A.P. ii.

<sup>1</sup> According to Wood's *Peerage* (ii. 359) he was fourth son of Sir John Drummond of Stobhall and bailie of the Abthane of Dull in Athol. Dougal was a brother of Queen Annabella. If this be so, he was of the family of Drummond. [He is not mentioned in Lord Strathallan's *Genealogy of the House of Drummond*, nor in the new *Scots Peerage*. It is not unlikely he is to be identified with Dugal de Lorne, priest of the diocese of Argyll, or Dugal de Ergadia, chaplain and secretary of Robert, earl of Fife, each (if indeed they are not the same person) mentioned as canon of Dunblane earlier in the year 1380 (C.P.R. Pet. i. 554).]

<sup>2</sup> [Finlay Colini, chaplain of Robert, duke of Albany, was archdeacon of Dunblane in 1400 and 1401, and held a number of other benefices (C.P.R. Pet. i. 615, 618).]

5). He was ambassador to [Rome, and had a safe-conduct through] England in 1425 (*Fœd.* x. 344; *B.C.* iv. 979).

He had been provided to Orkney by Benedict XIII., and his consecration took place at the court of that pope (*C.P.R.* vii. 103), [see Orkney].

**MICHAEL (OCHILTREE)**, dean of Dunblane; almoner-general of James I. in 1424 (*C.P.R.* vii. 376), and bachelor of canon law (*ib.*). He had held, with the deanery, the prebend of Incemagranach in the diocese of Dunkeld and the vicarage of Tybermore in the same diocese (*ib.* 406), and, in 1427, the church of Lilliscleffe in the diocese of Glasgow (*ib.* 546).

Michael Ouchate (*sic*), dean of Dunblane, is provided 22 June, 1429, to Dunblane void by the death of G(ullielmi) with a dispensation for defect of birth (E. and B.). He was not yet consecrated on 9 Aug. 1429 (*C.P.R.* viii. 97). On 1 Sept. he was granted a faculty to be consecrated by any catholic bishop (*ib.* 174). He was the son of a priest and an unmarried woman (*C.P.R.* vii. 376). But the dispensation of 22 June, 1429, says son of a married man and an unmarried woman (*C.P.R.* viii. 80). He crowned James II. at Holyrood 25 March, 1437 (Roslin additions to *Extracta*, 237). He was granted a charter by James II. 1442-3 (*A.P.* ii. 58). He was present in Parliament 28 June, 1445 (*ib.* 59).

[Arms: on a chevron three trefoils slipped (*Macdonald, Armorial Seals*, No. 2129).]

**ROBERT (LAWDER)**: Provided 27 Oct. 1447 (E.). On 13 Nov. 1447 he paid at Rome 800 florins of gold (B.). Robert, bishop of Dunblane appears 5 Nov. 1448 (*Keir*, 223). He has a safe-conduct 16 Oct. 1449 (*B.C.* iv. No. 1218). On 24 Sept. 1451 he is a witness at Edinburgh to the concession made by James II. to the bishops of Scotland that they might dispose of their property by testament (*R.B.* i. 181). A judicial pronouncement of Robert's (26 Jan. 1461-2) will be found in Inchaffray, p. 148. He is at the council held at Perth 18 July, 1465 (*Arbroath*, ii. 144).

**JOHN (HEPBURN)**. Provided 12 Sept. 1466 (E.) by Paul II. [on Robert's resignation]. He pays 83 gold florins at Rome 19 Jan. 1466-7 (B. 139). [21 June, 1469, is in the second year of his consecration (*Instrument, penes* earl of Moray).]

He is bishop of Dunblane 3 Feb. 1484-5 (*Acta Dom. Conc.* 106\*, 107\*).<sup>1</sup>

**JAMES (CHISHOLM)**, dean of Aberdeen (A.P. ii. 184). Provided 31 Jan. 1486-7 (E.). We find 11 July, 1521, was in the thirty-fourth year of his consecration, which shows that his consecration was after 11 July, 1487 (Cambusk. No. 92). He resigned in 1526 (see next entry); but retained the fruits of the bishopric, and we find him administrator-general of the fruits on 26 March, 1534 (Cambusk. No. 183).

[Arms: a boar head erased (Macdonald, *Armorial Seals*, Nos. 423, 424).]

**WILLIAM (CHISHOLM)**. On 6 June, 1526, Clement VII. provided to the church of Dunblane William, brother-german of James, who ceded the see, with the reservation [to William] of the canonry of Dunblane which he held, and [to James] of all the fruits, the collation of benefices, and 'regressus' (B. 140).

He is said to have been consecrated at Stirling 14 April, 1527, by Gavin Dunbar, bishop of Glasgow, George Crichton of Dunkeld, and his brother James (*House of Drummond*, 179). He died in 1564 (*ib.*). He had two natural daughters, one married to Sir James Stirling of Keir, the other to John Buchanan of that ilk (R.M.S. iv. No. 986).

[Arms: a boar head erased (Macdonald, *Armorial Seals*, No. 425).]

**WILLIAM (CHISHOLM)**, the second of that name), nephew of the preceding. He was made coadjutor by papal provision at the request of Mary, Queen of Scots, 2 June, 1561. His uncle and predecessor is described in the consistorial entry as then sixty-seven years of age and suffering from stone and gout.

William Chisholm, the second, was to retain his canonry and prebend in the church of Dunkeld, and was to have the right of succeeding his uncle. While acting as coadjutor he was to have a pension of 200 pounds Scots, being 170 gold ducats, from the

<sup>1</sup> We find Thomas, bishop of Dunblane, in the Great Seal Register (ii. No. 1062) witnessing on 23 July, 1459. This, I think, is the only place where Thomas appears. He is not recognised, and is expressly rejected in Eubel's list, and, if he existed, he was possibly a coadjutor. But most probably Dunblane is an error for Dunkeld, of which see Thomas was a bishop at the above date.

fruits of the bishopric. He is provided to the bishopric 'ecclesiae Masilitan. in partibus infidelium' (? of Massulae in Numidia), which church he is to vacate when he ceases to be coadjutor, that is, when he succeeded to his uncle. He is granted the indult of not proceeding to the said church *in partibus* (see the documents printed by Brady).

In 1570 Chisholm being in exile, by reason of the triumph of the Reformers, was proposed for the see of Vaison, and on 13 Nov. 1570 he was given the administration of that see till he could return to Dunblane, then in the possession of heretics. The consistorial entry sounds the praises of Chisholm. His virtues, his knowledge of theology, and of the French language, in which he was able to preach to his people, are referred to (B.). His forfeiture and rehabilitation are parts of the civil history of Scotland (see A.P. iii. 383, 469).

'It is said that this William Chisholm . . . resigned in his old age the bishopric of Vaison in favour of his nephew, another William Chisholm, and became a friar at Grenoble. He died some say at Rome, others at Grenoble' (B. 143).<sup>1</sup> He died 26 Sept. 1593 (*Bibliotheca Cartuseana*, auctore F. Theodoro Petreio, cited by Bishop Russell in his notes to Spottiswoode, i. 246).

The see of Dunblane was held by the Chisholm family for over one hundred years.

<sup>1</sup>[E. (iii. 348) dates the provision of William Chisholm, priest of Dunblane diocese, to Vaison on his uncle's resignation 4 Nov. 1585; the resigning bishop receiving permission to take the vows "in domo majoris Carthusiæ Gratianop.", that is, in the Grande Chartreuse.]

## The Bishops of Ross

THE bishopric of Ross, known generally till about the middle of the thirteenth century as Rosmarkyn, from the seat of the bishop at a place a short distance from the more modern Fortrose, emerges in the reign of David I.

**MACBETH** is the first bishop who appears in record. A charter of David to Dunfermline, which must be dated at some time between 1128 and 22 April, 1131, bears, after similar confirmations by Robert, bishop of St. Andrews, John of Glasgow, Cormac of Dunkeld, and Gregory of Moray, the words, 'Ego Makbeth Rosmarkensis episcopus confirmo.' Now Robert of St. Andrews was consecrated in 1128. Further, the charter is with the assent of Queen Matilda, who died (Sc. v. 43) in the seventh year of David's reign, that is, the year ending 22 April, 1131 (Dunferml. No. 1). This is, so far as I am aware, the only appearance of Macbeth.

**SYMEON** is found between 1147 and 1150 (Dunferml. 8). Alwyn, abbot of Holyrood, who resigned in 1150 (C.S.C.) is a co-witness, as also Herbert, bishop of Glasgow, who was consecrated on 24 Aug. 1147.

'S. bishop of St. Peter in Ross,' is one of the Scottish bishops addressed in the Bull of Adrian IV., 27 Feb. 1154-5 (Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils*, II. i. 232). The church was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Boniface.

**GREGORY.** Consecrated in 1161 by Ernald, bishop of St. Andrews, then legate of the kingdom of the Scots, by appointment of Pope Alexander (III.) (M.). He is bishop of Ross in the eleventh year of Malcolm, *i.e.* the year ending 23 May, 1164 (Scone, 7). He witnesses a charter of King William, with

Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen (1172-99), and Andrew, bishop of Caithness († 1184). The charter must be dated between 1172 and 1184 (R.M. No. 3).<sup>1</sup>

Gregory, bishop of Rosmarkin, died 1195 (M. ; Sc. viii. 56). Hoveden (vol. iii. 284) gives the same year, and adds 'in the month of February,' which hangs well with the date of the election of the next bishop.<sup>2</sup>

**REGINALDUS**, 'called Macer' (the lean?), Hoveden (*ut supra*). Reinald (M.), a monk of Melrose, was elected at Dunfermline 27 Feb. 1195, on feria ij (Monday), which works out correctly [for 1194-5]; and he was consecrated at St. Andrews by John, bishop of Dunkeld, 10 Sept. 1195 (M.). On testing this date it is seen to be a Sunday. Note the place of election, which was probably to secure royal influence.

Reginald, 'elect of Ross,' witnesses a charter of King William (Kelso, 317); the charter does not bear the *year*, but was granted 3 July, which enables us to date it precisely as 3 July, 1195. For an early appearance of 'R. episcopo Rossensi,' see Kinloss, 110. Reginald is a witness with Jocelin of Glasgow (who died 17 March, 1199) (Melrose, 114). 'R.' is bishop of Ross in the year of the nativity of Alexander II. (Arbroath, i. 103), *i.e.* 1198. [Reginald, bishop of Ross, attended the legatine council at Perth in Dec. 1201 (charter *penes* earl of Moray).]

<sup>1</sup> [Another of the witnesses, Earl Waldeve, died in 1182.]

<sup>2</sup> Major-general Stewart Allan (usually careful in his statements) in a list of the bishops of Ross supplied by him to E. C. Batten's *Charters of the Priory of Beauly* (pp. 201-4) inserts between Gregory and Reginald, 'Roger, "episcopus de Ross" about 1190, and apparently the Cistercian prior of Manuel: resigned or died A.D. 1194.' His evidence is not given, and to reconcile this with the date of the death of Gregory he conjectures that Gregory may have resigned about 1190. Unfortunately General Allan does not cite his authorities. There seems to be an error in making 'Roger' a prior of Manuel, which was a religious house for women. *Scotichronicon* (viii. 56), is express in making Reginald succeed Gregory in 1195. [King William's charter to the nuns of Manuel, as preserved in an ancient roll of charters at Auchinleck (Hutton Collections, Adv. Lib., vol. vi.), must be dated between 1195 and 1198, and is witnessed by *Rogerius*, bishop of Ross; doubtless a wrong extension of R.].

In C.P.R. i. p. 1, there is a mandate dated 27 May, 1198, to the bishops of Orkney and Ross to compel 'J. bishop of Caithness,' to desist from preventing the payment of one penny from every house in the county of Caithness, granted to the Apostolic See by H. earl of Caithness and Orkney, and duly collected in the time of the late bishop A(ndrew).

Reginald died on St. Lucy's day (13 Dec.) 1213 (M.).

On the death of Reginald 'Master *ANDREW DE MUREVIA*' was elected, who, declining the distinction, obtained leave from the pope (Innocent III.) to resign (M. s.a. 1213).

**ROBERT (I.)**, chaplain of King William, is appointed 1213 (M.). He is 'elect of Ross' at the time of William's death, 4 Dec. 1214 (Sc. ix. 1). As 'elect of Ross' he appears with [Hugh, bishop of Brechin, who died 1218, and] Guido, abbot of Lindores (Arbroath, i. 74, 129). Guido died 17 June, 1219 (Sc. ix. 27). He is found [as bishop] with 'G(regory), bishop of Brechin' who was not consecrated till after 15 Dec. 1218 (T. No. 19; Arbroath, 83). Robert is bishop of Ross 1 Feb. year of grace 1226-7 (R.M. 82); and 30 March, in the twelfth year of the reign of Alexander (II.), i.e. 1226 (Arbroath, i. 120), and on 30 June, in the fourteenth year of Alexander (II.), i.e. 1228 (R.M. 122).

Gregory IX. in 1235, 29 May, granted Robert power to erect new prebends and to augment existing ones (T. No. 182, compared with No. 80). He had died before (perhaps long before) 9 Feb. 1255-6 when he is 'Robert of good memory' (T. No. 182). His being succeeded by another Robert creates uncertainty as to some charter evidence.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Duthac is inserted by K., and even by Eubel (i. 446) who follows Gams, between Robert I. and Robert II. So far as I am aware there is no contemporary evidence for St. Duthac being bishop of Ross in the thirteenth century. Lesley (*De origine*, 228 edit. 1578) writing in the second half of the sixteenth century, makes Duthac to be bishop of Ross about the time of William the Lion or Alexander II., but his language is somewhat vague ('in hanc ætatem,' etc.). Lesley's design is to glorify St. Duthac, whose successor in the see of Ross he was, according to his account. Bishop Reeves (Adamnan's *Vita S. Columbae*, 401 note) has pointed out that K. is in error in

We have the express testimony of Sc. (x. 29) that Robert, bishop of Ross, who built Rosemarky, was succeeded by the election of Robert, archdeacon of Ross, but the same authority places the death of Robert, who built Rosemarky, in the year 1270 or (?) 1271, which, I think, is an error: see next entry.

**ROBERT (II.)** Before, perhaps long before, 9 Feb. 1255-6. Pope Alexander IV. on 9 Feb. 1255-6 writes to the bishop of Ross (unnamed) in which he speaks 'thy predecessor Robert of good memory' (Theiner, No. 182). Probably the bishop to whom the letter is addressed is Robert II. We find 'Robert, bishop of Ross,' on 20 Sept. 1258 (R.M. 133).<sup>1</sup>

He died in 1270 (Sc. x. 29) or perhaps 1271, for Sc. may be interpreted in that way.

**MATTHEW** (called, in Sc. x. 30, Machabaeus), succentor of Ross, was elected in 1272, and received the grace of consecration from the pope himself (Sc. x. 30). Pope Gregory IX. recounts that the election had been *per compromissum*, the *compromissarii* being the dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer, and the succentor (Matthew). Matthew was elected *concorditer*;

claiming the Aberdeen Breviary as an authority for the death of St. Duthac as being in 1249. The lections for his feast (8 March) in the Breviary are absolutely silent as to his date. Could it be that K. misread and misinterpreted the contracted words which follow 'Duthaci epi et cf.' in the Kalendar of the Breviary, 'mi⁹ d ix' (which should be expanded as 'minus duplex ix lectiones' a lesser double of ix. lessons) into a date 'mcc xl⁹'? One hardly likes to suggest it; but it is possible that K. was unfamiliar with the contractions of the ritual directions which appear in the Kalendar. David Camerarius in his *De Scotorum fortitudine, doctrina et pietate* (Paris, 1631) assigns the death of Duthac to 1253. But the legends of the Aberdeen Breviary have the flavour of a much earlier date. It is all but inconceivable that a saint so famous should not be mentioned in *Scotichronicon* as bishop of Ross if he belonged to the thirteenth century. The *Annals of Ulster* give at the year 1065 'Dubthach Albanach praecipuus confessarius Hiberniae et Alban in Armacha quievit.'

<sup>1</sup>[Robert, bishop of Ross, granted an indulgence to visitors to the shrine of St. Cuthbert, 20 June, 1255, sixth year of his pontificate (*Rites of Durham*, 152). This fixes his consecration to 1249 or 1250.]

the decree of the election was presented to the pope by the proctors of the chapter, Robert the archdeacon, and Ralph of Dundee, canon. The election was confirmed, and Matthew consecrated *per nos ipsos*. Letter dated Orvieto, 28 Dec. 1272 (T. No. 254) confirming the statement in *Scotichronicon*. In 1274 he died at the Council of Lyons (Sc. x. 34, where he is now called not Machabaeus, but 'Magister Matthaeus episcopus Rossensis'). It is easy to understand from the likeness of *c* and *t* in early script how the error 'Machabaeus' crept into copies.

The see was vacant, and the king had taken possession of 'omnia bona episcopatus sede vacante,' when Boiamund sometime between 24 June, 1274, and 24 June, 1275, attempted to collect the tithe (T. No. 264, p. 112, compared with p. 109).

**ROBERT (III.)**, archdeacon of Ross (probably the same as Robert the archdeacon mentioned in last entry). He is named in Sc. x. 34 as 'Thomas [certainly an error] de Fifyne.' In Gregory X.'s letter as 'Robert de Syvin' (T. No. 261). He was elected *concorditer* and *per viam compromissi*—the vacancy being caused by the death of Matthew of good memory. The decree of the election was presented by Duncan and Master William, canons of Ross, and having been examined by three cardinals (named) and approved, Gregory X. remits to the bishops of St. Andrews and Aberdeen to satisfy themselves as to the fitness of the elect, and, if satisfied, to consecrate him with the assistance of a third bishop, after receiving his oath of fealty to Rome. Letter dated, Lyons, 8 April, 1275 (T. No. 261).

We find 'R. bishop of Ross,' in 1280 (R.M. 140).

On 28 Nov. 1290 Pope Nicholas IV. issued a mandate to the bishop of Aberdeen, the abbot of Scone, and the prior of St. Andrews, to compel Robert, bishop of Ross, to make satisfaction to the dean and chapter in regard to the benefices, tithes, lands, and rents, belonging to the chapter and their vicars, which he had applied to his own uses. Many other acts of injustice are specified (C.P.R. i. 522).

He confirms at Brigham the treaty of Salisbury, 14 March, 1289-90 (Stevenson's *Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland*, i. 129).

Robert swears fealty to Edward I. 1 Aug. 1291 (B.C. ii. p. 125).

**THOMAS**, 'DE DONO DEI' (? Dundee.<sup>1</sup> See Boece's derivation of the name Dundee. *Scot. Hist.* edit. 1574, folio 276 *verso*). He was at the time of his election, dean of Brechin (C.P.R. i. 566) and canon of Ross (B.C. ii. No. 928). Boniface VIII., in a letter dated Rome, 18 Nov. 1295, recounts that on the vacancy of the see through the death of Robert 'of good memory' there was a double election, the two chosen being Thomas de Dono Dei, a canon, being at the time at the Roman court, and Master Adam, precentor of Ross. Thomas, who was then chaplain of H(ugo),<sup>2</sup> cardinal bishop of Ostia and Velletri, surrendered all claim arising out of the election. Master Adam, who had gone to Rome to seek confirmation, also renounced all claim. The pope taking into consideration among other things that Thomas was 'quam morum, tam generis nobilitate preclarus' appoints Thomas (T. No. 348). In this letter he is addressed not as bishop, but as elect. He was probably consecrated at Rome and before 27 Jan. 1296-7 (C.P.R. i. 566). On 31 July, 1297, King Edward I. writes that the pope having by Bull directed to the king appointed Master Thomas of Dundee (de Donodei), canon of Ross, to the bishopric of Ross, the king, approving and taking his fealty, commands the earl of Surrey to deliver the temporality (B.C. ii. No. 928). We find him in 1308, 1309-10, 1312 (A.P. i. 477, 460, 463) [and 1321 (Obligation, *penes* earl of Moray)]. He died early in or before 1325 : see next entry.

**ROGER**, canon of Abbinechy (? Abernethy), in the diocese of Dublin (? Dunblane), is appointed by the pope (John XXII.), 17 April, 1325, to the see of Ross, void by the death of Thomas. Concurrent letters to the chapter, to the clergy and people of the diocese, and to the vassals of the church (C.P.R. ii. 243). [He was consecrated by William, bishop of Sabina, before 19 May, 1325 (*ib.*).]

He is witness to royal charters at Edinburgh, 4 March, 1327-8 (R.M.S. ii. 3717); at Arbroath, 17 June, 1341 (Arbroath, ii. 541); and at Scone, 17 Sept. 1341 (A.P. i. 512).

He witnesses a charter, 4 July, 1342 (A.P. Suppl. 7).

<sup>1</sup>[He is called Thomas de Donde in 1309-10 (A.P. i. 460).]

<sup>2</sup>Hugo Seguin de Beliomo, a Frenchman and a Dominican (Ciaconius, ii. 267), created by Nicholas IV. in 1288 ; died in 1297.

He resigned 'for reasonable causes' before Nov. 1350 (T. No. 589).

**ALEXANDER (I.) STEWARD**, archdeacon of Ross, licentiate in decrees. A letter of Pope Clement VI. dated Avignon, 3 Nov. 1350, addressed to Alexander 'elect of Ross,' recounts that Roger having for reasonable causes resigned the government of the church, by three proctors, canons of Ross (named), the pope, having reserved the appointment to himself, appointed him, Alexander, archdeacon of Ross, licentiate in decrees, being in priest's orders. Concurrent letters to the chapter, the clergy and people, and to the king of Scotland (T. No. 589).

He as 'bishop of Ross' concurs in the obligation for the ransom of King David, 1357 (A.P. i. 515). He is a witness 26 Oct. 1359 (R.M. 302), and 5 April, 1366 (R.M.S. i. p. 93, No. 327, and p. 98, No. 10).

The following notices from C.P.R. (Pet.) i. show that this prelate's name was Steward. 22 July, 1343, Clement VI. grants the petition of Alexander Steward (*senescallus*), licentiate in canon law, for a canonry and prebend of Dunkeld, notwithstanding that he has a prebend and the archdeaconry of Ross (p. 66). In 1347 he is archdeacon of Ross and papal chaplain. He is granted leave to make his will (p. 127). In 1353 William de Lytthon, B.C.L., of the diocese of Ross, is granted the canonry and prebend of Moray, void by the consecration of Master Alexander Steward, bishop of Ross (p. 252).

The see is vacant in 1371 (E.R. ii. 363).

**ALEXANDER (II.) FREYLQUHOUS**,<sup>1</sup> canon of Ross.

PP. Gregory XI. in a letter dated Avignon, 9 May, 1371, addressed to Alexander, 'elect of Ross,' recounts that during the life-time of Alexander of good memory he had resolved to reserve the see to his own disposition. The chapter of Ross in ignorance, as was asserted, of the reservation had elected *concorditer* Alexander, canon of Ross, in priest's orders, as their

<sup>1</sup> This strange-looking name appears in the obit in *Kalendar of Ferne*. Other [and probably more correct] forms are Kylquhous and de Culchws, see *History of Beauly*, 202. [There was an Alexander de Kylwos, promoted from the chancellorship to the deanery of Ross in 1350 (C.P.R. Pet. i. 204). The surname seems to be derived from the lands of Kilwhiss in Fife.]

bishop ; and he, in like ignorance, had consented to the election. The pope declares the election to be null and void as contrary to the reservation. But for various reasons, and taking into account the wishes of the chapter, he appoints Alexander. Concurrent letters to the chapter, to the clergy and people of the 'city and diocese' of Ross, and to Robert, king of Scotland (T. No. 689).

Alexander, bishop of Ross, is in Parliament at Scone, 4 April, 1373 (A.P. i. 549). The maker of the Index to the Record edition of the *Acts of Parliaments* puts three different Alexanders under the one heading. Bishop Keith unites him with his successor : in this error he is followed by Gams.

We find Alexander, bishop of Ross, 21 Oct. 1375 (R.M. 181), and on 27 Oct. 1389 (*ib.* 200).

Died 6 July, 1398 (*Kal. Nov. Farinae*, obit printed by Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. xxix).

**ALEXANDER (III.)**, archdeacon of Ross, bachelor in decrees. Elect, provided by Benedict XIII. 17 Aug. 1398 (E. i. 446). See vacant by death of Alexander (II.), (E. *ib.*).

'Alexander, episc. Rossen,' witnessed a charter, 12 Aug. 1404 (R.M.S. ii. No. 1239). The bishop of Ross (unnamed) preached the sermon (4 Feb. 1413-4) at St. Andrews on the occasion of the arrival of the papal Bulls for founding the University (Sc. xv. 22).

He was bishop of Ross 17 March, 1415-6 (R.G. 310).

He must have died, at latest, at the end of 1417 : see next entry. The see is void by death of Alexander, 9 March, 1417-8 (C.P.R. Pet. i. 608).

**JOHN BULLOCK** (Bullock), canon regular of the church of St. Andrews, vicar of Dul. [Provided 9 March, 1417-8 (*Reg. Vat.* 329, 9). Eubel has quite a group of misprints here.] On 15 March, 1417-8, we find Benedict XIII. granting the petition of John Begiert, canon regular of St. Andrews, for the perpetual vicarage of Dul, in the diocese of Dunkeld, 'void by the promotion of John Bullok, canon regular of St. Andrews, to the see of Ross' (C.P.R. Pet. i. 608) : see also C.P.R. vii. 288. That there had been a capitular election, and that **THOMAS LYEL** had been elected, appears from the fact that on 18 May, 1418, Benedict XIII. granted the petition of 'Thomas Lyel,

canon, and bishop-elect of Ross,' for a certain canonry and prebend in Brechin (*ib.* 608-9).

John, 'elect and confirmed of Ross,' sent a proctor to the Provincial Synod, 16 July, 1420 (R.B. i. 38, 39). 'Jhon truch the grace of Gode Byschop of Rosse' seals a deed 16 Aug. 1420 (R.M. 475). Presumably he had been consecrated between these two dates.

Gradually Scotland was being drawn from the anti-popes to the popes; and Martin V. facilitated the process, for on 1 Feb. 1422-3 Martin V. provided the *de facto* bishop, described as 'canon of St. Andrews,' to the church of Ross, void by the translation of Griffin [Yonge] to Hippo.<sup>1</sup> Griffin's translation to Hippo bears the same date as Bullock's appointment by Martin V. to Ross, viz. 1 Feb. 1422-3 (E.). Martin V. at the same date confirms and approves the acts of John Bullock's administration hitherto as bishop (C.P.R. vii. 287).

John, bishop of Ross, appended his seal, 4 Sept. 1439, to the contract between Johane, queen-dowager, and Sir Alexander

<sup>1</sup> The student of Scottish ecclesiastical records is little concerned in the appointments (merely nominal) made to Scottish sees by the popes (as distinguished from the anti-popes). But it may be worth while recording the following from Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, i. 143.

(a) Lewis Bifort, bishop of Bangor in North Wales, 14 Feb. 1417-8, see Stubbs' *Reg. Sac. Ang.* (p. 240, note; 2nd edit.). The see is said to be void by the death of Alexander. One rather doubts whether Bifort was the bishop of Bangor transferred to Ross, for almost immediately after his appointment on 1 March, 1417-8, we find (b) Griffin, bishop of Ross, receiving a *littera passus* from Martin V. at Constance as papal nuncio and collector (T. No. 739). I concur with Eubel (i. 446) who takes no notice of Bifort. But Eubel misprints the date of the appointment of the bishop of Bangor (whom he supposes to be Griffin) as 14 Feb. 1414. We have the further (at first sight) embarrassing statement that a few months later than Griffin's appointment in 1418 Friar (*frater*) Walter Format, master in theology, was provided to the see of Ross, 16 Nov. 1418 (B. i. 143). But in this case it is Brady who has created the difficulty, for Format, or Formay, was appointed to the see of Ross in *Ireland* (see E. i. 447). I suspect Griffin was the only papal appointment at this period to Ross in Scotland.

Livingston (A.P. ii. 55). The seal is described by Macdonald (*Armorial Seals*, No. 292): the shield bears a bull head cabossed.

There is a passage in the *Exchequer Rolls* (v. 101-2) which suggests that Bullock had *resigned* his see and was alive at least after 1 Jan. 1440-1. In the account of the custumars of Edinburgh, rendered 2 Sept. 1441, for the period from 1 Jan. 1440-1 credit is taken for a payment 'Domino Johanni Bullok quondam episcopo Rossensi, pro expensis suis factis laborando inter comitem de Ross et consilium regis super concordia et pacificatione patrie.'<sup>1</sup>

**THOMAS DE TULLACH** (called **URQUHART** by K.), dean of Ross, provided 26 Sept. 1440 (E. ii. 248). On 14 Oct. 1440, 'Thomas, elect of Ross in Scotland,' offered 600 gold florins and five *minuta servitia* (B.). On 10 Feb. 1440-1 Thomas, bishop of Ross, presently in Flanders receives a safe-conduct to pass through England to Scotland (B.C. iv. No. 1146). He was doubtless returning home from the Apostolic See.

It appears that **ANDREW DE MUNROY**, archdeacon of Ross, had been postulated by the chapter (see above) and that in the prosecution of the postulation he had gone to great expense and labour. But the pope (Eugenius IV.) had disallowed the postulation, and had provided to the see 'Thomas de Tullach.' The use of the word 'postulation' is explained by the fact that Andrew de Munroy suffered from 'defect of birth,' being the son of a priest and an unmarried woman (T. No. 748; C.P.R. viii. 239). The pope salved Munroy's wounded feelings by settling on him a pension of forty pounds sterling, charged on the mensal revenue of the bishop of Ross and his successors. The letter of the pope is dated 4 March, 1440-1 (*ib.*).

Thomas is bishop of Ross in May, 1443 (*Council Register, Aberdeen*, iv. 313; note in Lord Woodhouselee's copy of Keith).

<sup>1</sup> We may add what is probably a notice of his earlier history. John Bulloc, canon regular of St. Andrews, had the vicarage of Dull, in the diocese of Dunkeld on 23 March, 1408-9, when the anti-pope, Benedict XIII., granted a petition of his for the vicarage of Travernent (Tranent) in diocese of St. Andrews valued at 60 marks Scots (C.P.R. Pet. i. 638).

Thomas, bishop of Ross, is witness to a royal charter on 24 Jan. 1449-50 (R.G. ii. 373-4). He is present in Parliament in Edinburgh on 24 Sept. 1451 (R.B. i. 181). Thomas, bishop of Ross (with other Scottish bishops) seals the process of forfeiture of the earl of Douglas, 17 June, 1455 (A.P. ii. 77). The index of R.M.S. calls him Urquhart, following, no doubt, the error of Keith. He is bishop in 1460 (Bishop Russel in his edition of K. p. 569, gives 'inscription on a bell at Fortrose' as his authority). Major-general Stewart Allan (unfortunately not citing the evidence) says he 'died in 1463 before Oct.' But see next entry.<sup>1</sup>

*Notices of Tullach before his provision to Ross.* He is said in a papal letter of Martin V. to have been of a great noble race by both parents, and he was archdeacon of Caithness in June, 1429 (C.P.R. viii. 79). He is provided to the perpetual vicarage of Langforgond in the diocese of St. Andrews in Nov. 1429 to be held with the archdeaconry and the prebend of Croy in Moray (*ib.* 153). Provided to the deanery of Ross, 16 Oct. 1436 (*ib.* 583). Provided to the parish of Tanadas in the diocese of St. Andrews, 15 July, 1437 (*ib.* 649).

**HENRY (COCKBURNE)**; provided 14 March, 1460-1 (*Oblig.*). Henry pays his *commune servitium* 17 April, 1461 (E.). He is 'elect and confirmed of Ross,' 19 Oct. 1463 (Dunferml. 366). 'Henricus episcopus Rossen.' witnesses many Great Seal charters, the earliest being 16 Aug. 1464, the latest, 22 July, 1476 (R.M.S. ii. Nos. 804, 1249). For 15 July, 1476, see R.G. 432-3.

He was present at Arbroath on the occasion of the election of Abbot Richard Guthre, 3 Nov. 1470 (Arbroath, ii. 165-6).

He was one of an embassy to England in 1473 (*Fœd.* xi. 775). The bishop of Ross was present in Parliament held in Edin-

<sup>1</sup> Edward IV. (28 Dec. 1461) grants a house in Calais to Robert, bishop of Roos or Rosse for his life and the temporalities of St. Asaph, while in the king's hands, 21 April, 1462 (B.C. iv. Nos. 1321, 1329). But this should not have been entered by Bain; for the person referred to is probably 'Richard' (so the name is given by Stubbs, *Reg. Sac. Ang.* 2nd edit. p. 207), bishop of Ross in Ireland and suffragan of Canterbury, 1439-65.

burgh on 15 July, 1476 (A.P. ii. 190).<sup>1</sup> The see is void in 1477: see next entry. John Cockburne, a bastard son of the late Henry, bishop of Ross was legitimated 20 Sept. 1507 (R.S.S. i. 1552).

**JOHN WODMAN**, prior of the Isle of May. On 16 Aug. 1477 occurs 'Johannes Wodman, de May prior, et ecclesie cathedralis Rossensis postulatus, sede vacante' (Cawdor, 62).<sup>2</sup>

On 16 Oct. 1477 'John, bishop of Ross,' paid by the hands of Nicholas de Rabatis and Rayner de Ricasolis, 321 gold florins, twenty-one shillings and fivepence (B.).

This John is not given a place by Eubel.

Wodman does not appear among the priors in Dr. J. Stuart's *Records of the Priory of the Isle of May*.

**WILLIAM ELPHINSTONE**. He had been archdeacon of Lismore and official of Lothian.<sup>3</sup>

The consistorial and other papers printed by Brady have no notice of his appointment to Ross, or of his subsequent translation to Aberdeen.

But Eubel gives 3 Aug. 1481 as the date of his appointment to Ross (ii. 248). He is elect confirmed of Ross, 26 Nov. 1481 (*Laing Charters*, No. 184).

In the Parliament of 18 March, 1481-2, he is 'elect confirmed of Ross' (A.P. ii. 136). William is 'elect and confirmed of Ross' and official of Lothian, 22 March, 1481-2 (*Cart. S. Nicholai*

<sup>1</sup> Eubel (ii. 248) enters before Henry the following: 'Joannes Horuse al. Shipton O. Cist. mag. theol. 1464 Oct. 1.' No such bishop is known in Scottish record, or is consistent with the evidence. The footnote attached by Eubel to Henry really belongs to this John,—'Qui quidem ad istam seriem non pertinere videtur.'

<sup>2</sup> [His provision must have been before 21 July, 1477, the date of the *Obligavit* of his successor at May (Roman Transcripts, Public Record Office).]

<sup>3</sup> On 1 June, 1478, Mr. William Elphinstone, official of Lothian, sat in Parliament (A.P. ii. 116). On 4 Dec. 1478, and 11 Feb. 1479-80, he appears as archdeacon of Lismore and official of Lothian (R.M.S. ii. 1408, 1439). [The parsonages of Durris in St. Andrews and of Kirkmichael in Glasgow diocese were vacated by his promotion to Ross (Roman Transcripts, Public Record Office).]

*Aberdon.* p. 148). He appears as elect and confirmed in the Parliament which met 2 Dec. 1482 (A.P. ii. 142). The style 'bishop of Ross' appears in the parliamentary records for 1 March, 1482-3, and 27 June, 1483. But no inference as to his consecration may be drawn from the difference of style. Indeed, it is as 'electus confirmatus Rossensis' that he appears for the last time in connection with Ross in Parliament on 17 May, 1484 (A.P. ii. 166). On 27 July, 1484, he is styled bishop of Aberdeen (*Acta Dom. Conc.* 84\*).

A letter of Pope Alexander VI. written to Elphinstone several years afterwards (12 Dec. 1494) deals with his appointment to both Ross and Aberdeen. From this letter it appears that Sixtus IV. provided him to Ross by apostolic authority with a dispensation for defect of birth, he being the son of a presbyter and an unmarried woman. Afterwards the same Sixtus IV., on the vacancy occurring by the translation of Robert, elect of Aberdeen, to Glasgow, translated Elphinstone to Aberdeen, releasing him from the bond by which he was bound to Ross, adding the words 'munere consecrationis tibi minime impenso' (T. No. 894). We see then that Elphinstone was not consecrated during his tenure of the bishopric of Ross. His father was probably William Elphinstone, first, rector of Kirkmichael, and afterwards archdeacon of Teviotdale, whose obit was 30 June, 1486 (R.G. ii. 616).

The occasion of the letter of Pope Alexander, above referred to, was the desire of Elphinstone to secure himself from any objection which might arise from the fact that his defect of birth was not mentioned in the Bull for his translation to Aberdeen. The pope gives him assurance on this point.<sup>1</sup> For his translation to Aberdeen, 19 March, 1483, is given by Eubel (ii. 87).

One might suspect that this meant 1483-4: but see next entry.

**THOMAS (HAY)**, canon of Aberdeen (E.). Provided 16 May, 1483 (E.). Notwithstanding this date and that noticed in the last entry for Elphinstone's translation to Aberdeen, I

<sup>1</sup> Boece (E.A.V. 74) speaks of Elphinstone being declared bishop of Ross, 'ipse recusans.' This can only be understood of his unwillingness to accept an office which in fact he did accept.

cannot but think there has been an error either in the records at Rome, or in Eubel's interpretation of them.<sup>1</sup>

This bishop, with the consent of his chapter, erected (12 Sept. 1487) the chapel or church of St. Duthac at Tain into a collegiate church. His deed received the confirmation of the Great Seal, 3 Dec. 1487 (R.M.S. ii. No. 1694). This erection was confirmed by Innocent VIII. in 1492.<sup>2</sup>

This Thomas does not appear elsewhere in R.M.S.

We find the bishop of Ross (unnamed) in Parliament 11 Jan. 1487-8 (A.P. ii. 180).

He was probably the Thomas Hay, prebendary of Turref, who occurs 16 March, 1475-6 (R.A. i. 311).

**JOHN GUTHRIE** (Guthere; E.). Provided by the pope [in consistory] 26 March, 1492. (*Vatic. B.* 144). The Bulls were dated 11 April, 1492; (*Obligaz. B.* 144; *E.* ii. 248). On 14 June, 1492, the proctor of 'John Guthere' offered 600 gold florins (B.).

It would seem that though the appointment eventually took the shape of a papal provision Guthrie had been elected by the chapter, for in an entry placed under the year 1490-1 we find in the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer (i. 197) 'Item, for a compositioun maid with Master Johnne Guthre, elect of Ross, for the anna of the temporalite, . . . ij*c.* lib.'

Major-general Allan (in the list given in the *Charters of the Priory of Beauly*, 203) writes of Guthrie that he 'died before July A.D. 1494, when the see was vacant till A.D. 1498.' But the election of his successor was made in 1497: see next entry.

**JOHN FRISEL** (or Fraser), chancellor of Glasgow. He was M.A., and probably is to be identified with Mr. John Fresail, Dean of the Faculty of Arts at St. Andrews in 1479; [and with John Fresel, priest of St. Andrews diocese, M.A., who was elected to the archdeaconry of Aberdeen on the promotion of Robert Blacader, elect thereof (*Obligavit* 30 Aug. 1480, Roman Transcripts in Public Record Office)]. He was the

<sup>1</sup> [Eubel's date is conform to the record.]

<sup>2</sup> The original is said to be at Tain (*Orig. Paroch. II.* ii. p. 418). The foundation was for a provost, five priests, two deacons or sub-deacons, a sacrist, and three boys 'in puerili voce cantantes.'

Master John Fraser, who was (first) dean of Lastalrik<sup>1</sup> [Restalrig], 1487 (*Coll. Churches of Midlothian*, 273f.), and clerk of the register, 5 Dec. 1492 (R.M. 248); and rector of Douglas, 28 Aug. 1481 (R.M.S. iii. No. 629). He appears as 'rotulorum et registri ac concilii clericus,' frequently from 10 Aug. 1492, to 12 Nov. 1497, in R.M.S. ii.

Elect before 30 Oct. 1497, for in the *Accounts of the Lord Treasurer* (i. 314) we find 'Item, the penult day of October, resavit fra Maister Johne Fresel, elect of Ros, for the compo-  
sitioun of his admissioune to the temporalitee of Ros, . . . ij<sup>e</sup>. lib.'<sup>2</sup>

The papal appointment, by provision, of John Frisel, councillor of the king of Scotland to the see of Ross, vacant by the death 'of John Gutturae, last bishop,' was made on 14 March, 1497-8 (E.). On 5 May, 1498, Ilarion de Portiis, clerk of Florence, paid in the name of 'John Frixel, elect of Ross,' 600 gold florins (*Obligaz. B.*). He was 'elect and confirmed of Ross,' 3 Dec. 1498 (Caerlaverock, ii. 452). Admitted to temporality, 3 Jan. 1498-9 (R.S.S. i. 311).

Frizel granted £10 annual rent out of a tenement he held in the burgh of Linlithgow to the vicars and chaplains in his cathedral, 10 May, 1504 (R.M.S. ii. 2791). He is at his cathedral, 23 Jan. 1505-6 (Dunferml. No. 494). On 15 Sept. 1506 at the Chanony in Ross the king grants to him and his heirs and assignees 'the twa part' of the lands of the vil of Arkbol, in the earldom of Ross (R.M.S. ii. 2991). The bishop of Ross is in Parliament 11 March, 1503-4 (A.P. ii. 239; see also 273).

According to the *History of the Frazers* [see Wardlaw Manuscript (Scot. Hist. Soc.) p. 120], John died 5 Feb. 1507 [*i.e.* 1506-7], at his see, aged seventy-eight (Keith). On 1 May, 1507, James IV. granted the temporality for one year to Robert Fresale, dean of Ross, Alexander Fresale, and James Makysoun,

<sup>1</sup> He founded a chaplainry in Restalrig collegiate church, and endowed it from a tenement he had built in the Canongate (R.M.S. iii. 45).

<sup>2</sup> [He is elect of Ross, 18 Sept. 1497 (Protocol Book of James Young, Edinburgh City Chambers).]

executors of John, bishop of Ross, deceased (R.S.S. i. 1469). Some of his property which had fallen into the king's hands, 'ratione bastardie Joannis quondam episcopi Rossenensis,' is granted to Alexander Fresale, burgess of Linlithgow, 16 Aug. 1507 (R.M.S. ii. 3123; see David Laing, *Introduction to the Collegiate Churches of Midlothian*, p. xlvi).<sup>1</sup>

**ROBERT COCKBURN** (parson of Dunbar; see below). [Provided 9 July, 1507 (E.).] Admitted to the temporality of Ross 17 Aug. 1507 (R.S.S. i. 1520). Robert, postulate of Ross, 'our councillor,' appears in an undated letter of James IV. Robert had brought letters from Louis XII. of France, and was at Edinburgh 28 July (? 1507) *Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 83.

On 29 Sept. 1507 the king presents Master Renner Cockburne to the rectory of the collegiate church of Dunbar, void by the promotion of the reverend father Robert, bishop of Ross (R.S.S. i. 1554). Robert is a witness of a royal charter, 4 Nov. 1515 (R.M.S. iii. 51). The bishop receives protection from James V. on going as the king's ambassador to the king of France and other princes, 12 Jan. 1515-6 (R.S.S. i. 2681). He seems to have been still abroad, 14 Sept. 1516 (*ib.* 2805), as also 23 Nov. 1517 (*ib.* 2948).

Translated to Dunkeld by Clement VII., 24 [or rather 27] April, 1524 [see Dunkeld].

We find that a Master Robert Cockburn 'dean of the rood' in Rowane (? Rouen) was presented by the king to the parsonage of Dunbar, 1 July, 1501 (R.S.S. i. 711). This would seem to be the future bishop.

**JAMES HAY**, abbot of Dundrennan. Provided 27 April, 1524<sup>1</sup> (the same day as the translation of his predecessor), with a dispensation to retain any benefices which he might possess. The revenue (*redditus*) of the see is stated at 1000 florins; the *taxa* 600 (B.). On 27 May his proctor *obtulit* 600 gold florins (*ib.*). [The Bulls were dated 27 April (*ib.*).] Admitted to the temporality of Ross 16 Sept. 1524 (R.S.S. i. 3293). Not yet consecrated on 25 Feb. 1524-5 when he appeared in Parliament as 'elect of Ross' (A.P. ii. 289).

John, duke of Albany, in a letter to Clement VII., dated

<sup>1</sup>[‘Die Mercurii, 27 April,’ MS. in Vatican Archives, and so E. B. has 24 April.]

13 Dec. 1523, says that his holiness had in accordance with his request appointed James Hay, doctor in decrees, abbot of Dundrennan, to the see of Ross (T. No. 944). Perhaps the explanation is that Albany had received a favourable reply to his request.<sup>1</sup>

James, bishop of Ross, was one of the commissioners who held Parliament, 11 March, 1537-8 (A.P. ii. 352).

William Johnstoun, advocate, was convicted of heresy in a court held by Hay in April, 1538 (*Acts and Decrees*, xliv. 56). It would seem from next entry that Hay died soon after.<sup>2</sup>

**ROBERT CAIRNCROSS** (Carncors), abbot of Holyrood. In the Edgerston charter chest there is a Bull of Clement VII. commanding the archbishop of Glasgow and the bishops of Dunkeld and Aberdeen to admit Robert Carncors, priest of the diocese of Glasgow, if fit, as a canon regular of Holyrood, 6 Nov. 1528, or about five weeks before his provision as abbot. He had been commissioned (29 May, 1537) treasurer of the king (R.S.S. xi. 2). Provided to Ross by Paul III., 14 April, 1539,<sup>3</sup> (E.) ; by his proctor, James Salmond, he paid his taxa of 600 florins (28 April). At the same time he took out a fresh provision to Holyrood (B.).

Admitted to the temporality of the see, 23 June, 1539 (R.S.S. xiii. fol. 10). The fresh provision to Holyrood was not effective [see footnote], but Paul III. allowed Robert to have a pension from Holyrood of 500 marks Scots, specially

<sup>1</sup> [The appointment to Dundrennan for which Albany's letter asks, was made the same day as James Hay's provision to Ross.]

<sup>2</sup> [He was of the Ardendraught (Delgaty) family, and is styled tutor of Ardendraught in 1533 (*Acta Dom. Conc. et Sess.* iii. 27). He had a son Thomas, who was dispensed for illegitimacy by Clement VII., 19 Oct. 1532, apparently the same who was afterwards abbot of Glenluce, and ancestor of the Hays of Park (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v. 614 ; where the date of the Bull is obviously blundered).]

<sup>3</sup> [On 12 Nov. 1538 he entered into an indenture with James V., whereby he undertook on certain conditions to resign the abbacy of Holyrood in favour of the king's nominee, and the king undertook to write to Rome recommending him for the bishopric of Ross, vacant by the death of James, bishop thereof (Protocol Book of Alex. Macneill, MS. in Register House.)]

from the churches of Falkirk and Livingstone, and the town of Brochton, in the parish of St. Cuthbert. (Edgerston Charter Chest—the Bull is dated 14 April, 1539.) The same Bull announces that Holyrood, thus vacated, was conferred on Robert Stewart, clerk or scholar of St. Andrews diocese. Robert Stewart was a natural son of James V., and afterwards earl of Orkney. In the interval between the death of James Hay and the admission of Robert Cairncross the king had made a temporary grant of the temporality to William Carncors of Colmeslie (from a writ under the Privy Seal, 3 Oct. 1538, in the Edgerston Charter Chest).

Robert is one of the commissioners who held Parliament on 9 March, 1540-1 (A.P. ii. 367). He was recommended to the pope for the *commendam* of Ferne in a letter of James V., 9 March, 1540-1 (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* ii. 103-4). He was admitted to the temporality of Ferne, 21 Oct. 1541 (R.S.S. xv. 43). He was bishop of Ross 15 April, 1545 (*Laing Charters*, 495). On 1 April, 1545, Queen Mary petitions the pope that Robert may resign Ferne, and that the pope would admit thereto James Carnecors, clerk of Glasgow, Robert being allowed to retain the revenue and 'regressus' (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* ii. 246).

He died 30 Nov. 1545, and was buried in his cathedral (Chronicle of John Smyth, monk of Kinloss) [*Records of Kinloss*, 10].

Arms: Cairncross had two seals, one, on a shield, ensigned with a mitre, a stag head couped; the other, the same with a star between the attires (Macdonald, *Armorial Seals*, Nos. 299, 300).

**DAVID PANITER** (Panter). His successor next but one in the see of Ross, John Lesley, tells us he was secretary to the governor. On account, he adds, of his singular prudence and learning he was sent as ambassador to the king of France, an office which he filled with great credit for many years (*De rebus gestis Scottorum*, p. 478). In Lesley's English account we are told that Paniter was prior of St. Mary's Isle (Bannatyne Club edit. 188). Most of the Latin letters in the second volume of *Epist. Reg. Scot.* are believed to be his work. In the preface to that volume the editor (? Thomas Ruddiman)

expresses his opinion that he was brother or nephew<sup>1</sup> of Patrick Paniter, abbot of Cambuskenneth, to whom, as secretary to James IV. and James V., the letters of the first volume are chiefly due, and that he belonged to the ancient family of Paniters settled near Montrose. Patrick had a brother named David, and there is a David Paniter, junior (not said to be the son of David) to whom the abbot in 1516 feued certain lands (R.M.S. iii. 138).

Provided by Paul III. 28 Nov. 1547 to the see of Ross void by the death of Robert Carncors. He had been previously dispensed for 'defect of birth,' being the son of a clerk with an unmarried or married woman. He is allowed to retain all his benefices. The revenues (*fructus*) of the see are stated at 2000 florins; the *taxa* 600 (B.). He appears as postulate of Ross, 13 May, 1549 (*Acts and Decrees*, iii. 39), and indeed was not consecrated till after seven years abroad. He was representative of Scotland at the signing of the treaty of Boulogne in 1550. He returned in 1552. He was consecrated at Jedburgh (Lesley, *De reb. gest.* 516). Hollinshed (p. 487, ed. 1577)<sup>2</sup> places his death at Stirling on 1 Oct. 1558.

As to David Paniter's earlier history we may note that he wrote from Paris (24 Jan. 1541-2) to Gavin, archbishop of Glasgow, enclosing letters from the Apostolic See, apparently nominating him to the vicarage of Carstairs, void by the resignation of Alexander Paniter. In this letter he claims blood-relationship to Archbishop Gavin (*Ep. Reg. Scot.* ii. 136). On 31 March, 1543-4,<sup>3</sup> Queen Mary wrote, stating that she was sending David Paniter, 'nostre premier Secretaire,' to Francis I., king of France (*ib.* 195). It was by Paniter and 'our herald,' Alexander Guthre, that Queen Mary returned the 'ornamenta' of the Golden Fleece (which had been bestowed on her father) to the Emperor Charles V. 19 Nov. 1544 (*ib.* 230). Notes of payments made to him while abroad will be found in the treasurer's accounts.

<sup>1</sup> [See below.]

<sup>2</sup> [Later editions give the year of death only.]

<sup>3</sup> [This letter is dated by the French style, which began the year at Easter.]

We have seen above that Paniter received a dispensation for 'defect of birth' from the pope. [David Paniter was apparently a natural son of Patrick (Paniter), abbot of Cambuskenneth (see R.M.S. iii. 2072). That he was a bastard is further proved by a case in *Acts and Decrees* (xvii. 314), in which a claim by the Crown to his succession as *ultimus heres* was repelled on proof that he had been legitimated. He, Robert Leslie of Findrassie, and James Halkerstoun were sons of the same mother (R.M.S. iv. 1225; R.S.S. xvii. 93).] This view of the bishop's parentage it will be seen is different from that put forward by Keith. The curious may also consult the preface and text of the *Liber Officialis S. Andree*, and Riddell's *Remarks upon Scotch Peerage Law*, p. 182 ff.

For Paniter's earlier preferments, see Keith.

Arms: Macdonald does not record his arms; but he gives Abbot Patrick Paniter's arms as, on a fess between three stars as many roundles (*Armorial Scals*, No. 2180).

**HENRY SINCLAIR**, dean of Glasgow, and president of the College of Justice (Lesley, *Bannatyne edit.* 267).

He had been given the temporality of Ross during the vacancy, 20 Nov. 1558 (R.S.S. xxix. 55). According to Knox (*Works*, i. 274) in Nov. 1558 Master John Gray passed to Rome 'for expeditioun of the bowes [bulls] of Ross to Maister Henry Sinclare.' On 27 March, 1560, the Queen Regent had written to the cardinal of Lorraine and the duke of Guise that the bulls might be expedited for Sinclair (Stevenson's *Illustrations*, etc. p. 80). His provision was not, however, till 2 June, 1561, when Pius IV. 'at the prayer of Francis, the king and Mary, the queen of Scotland,' provided him to the see of Ross, void by the death of David Paniter. He was to resign the deanery of Glasgow, but was allowed to hold the fruits of the canonry and prebend called Glasgow First, as also a pension of 40 marks Scots to be paid by the monastery of Kilwynning 'cum per hereticos licebit' (B.).

On 2 May, 1563, Henry, bishop of Ross, receives a licence to pass to the parts of France and other parts beyond sea for recovering his health and remedy thereof, he being heavily vexed with infirmities and sickness (R.S.S. xxxi. 127).

He died in Paris after an operation for stone, on 2 Jan. 1564-5 (*Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 77, 79).<sup>1</sup>

[Arms : a cross engrailed.]

**JOHN LESLEY**, official of Aberdeen (April, 1558) ; parson of Oyne and canon of Aberdeen (July, 1559) ; Lord of Session (19 Jan. 1563-4). He was put in possession of the temporality 20 April, 1566, and [of the spirituality] 21 Jan. 1566-7 (K.).<sup>2</sup> But, probably due to the unsettled state of Scotland, it was not till 22 April, 1575, that he obtained provision from the pope. On that day, in the absence of Sermoneta, 'Protector' (*scilicet* Scottorum)<sup>3</sup> the 'Cardinalis Senonensis' (Louis Guise de Lorraine, archbishop of Sens), proposed the provision of the church of Ross in Scotland ; and on the same day provision was made in the person of John Lesley at the supplication of Mary, queen of Scotland. Lesley is dispensed for defect of birth. The provision was made 'gratia' ; and there is no record of any payment (B.). [At a later date he was made administrator of the see of Moray (E.).] The papal documents also record the translation of Lesley on 16 Dec. 1592 to the bishopric of Coutances. On that day John Lesley was released from the bond by which he was bound to the church of Ross in Scotland

<sup>1</sup> David Laing gives the following account of Henry Sinclair. He was a younger son of Sir Oliver Sinclair of Roslin, and was born in 1508. He studied at St. Andrews, and was incorporated in St. Leonard's College in 1521. He obtained the favour of James V., who appointed him a Lord of Session. He was admitted 18 Nov. 1537 as rector of Glasgow. He was commendator of the abbey of Kilwinning, which benefice he exchanged with Gavin Hamilton for the deanery of Glasgow, 10 April, 1550 (R.S.S. xxiii. 72). He was employed in various public matters abroad ; and, during the absence of Bishop Reid, he acted as vice-president of the Court of Session. On Reid's death he was admitted (2 Dec. 1558) as lord president. Note in Knox's *Works*, i. 275.

<sup>2</sup> [The latter deed, as quoted, proceeds on 'apostolical letters of the Pope.' Perhaps there was a provision earlier than that in text.]

<sup>3</sup> Prefixed to Lesley's *De Origines Moribus et Rebus Gestis Scottorum* there is a letter of the author addressed 'Illustriss. Principi D. Nicolao Cajetano De Sermoneta Romano, S.R.E. Presbytero Cardinali, et anti-quissimi Scotiæ Regni Protectori.'

and translated to the church of Coutances in Normandy, void by the death of Arthur, 'with the retention of compatibles,' and with the retention of the church of Ross until he shall have obtained possession of the said church of Coutances (B.).

He died at the monastery of canons-regular at Gertrudenberg (near Brussels) on 31 May, 1596, in his seventieth year, as stated in the inscription over his tomb.

The events of this eminent prelate's life are closely interwoven with the civil history of the period, and exhibit many romantic episodes. It must suffice here to notice a few particulars: first, the question as to his parentage, which has been much discussed. There is no doubt that he was illegitimate. Not only is he dispensed for defect of birth in the provision to the see (cited above), but he had received as early as 9 July, 1538, a dispensation for defect of birth so that he might be ordained. See the extracts from original writs supplied to Keith by Marfarlane from the charter-chest of the Leslies of Balquhain (*Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, p. 198). Macfarlane himself (*Genealogical Collections*, ii. 4) gives his parents as 'Mr. Galvine (Lesley), official of Moray, and —— Butter, his concubine.' We find a Gavin Lesley, canon of Kyngusy, 8 Oct. 1526 and 3 Jan. 1539-40 (R.M. 372, 420), and canon of Kyngusy and commissary general, 14 Aug. 1538 (R.M. 402). Knox (*Works*, i. 236) describes the bishop as a 'preastis gett.'

Lesley's devotion to the cause of Queen Mary, his imprisonment in the Tower of London for his supposed complicity in the Ridolfi plots (1571-1573), his efforts at Paris (1574), and at Rome (1575), on behalf of the interests of the queen, his appointment as suffragan and vicar-general of Rouen (1579), and his subsequent imprisonment must be studied elsewhere.

As connected with Scotland the following particulars of a personal nature may be recorded, drawn chiefly from David Laing's careful study (Knox's *Works*, vol. ii. Appendix vi. No. iii.). He was born 29 Sept. 1527. He studied at Aberdeen University, where he graduated in Arts. He was made an acolyte 15 June, 1546, by Patrick, bishop of Aberdeen (I. Moray) (K.). He then studied canon and civil law at Toulouse, Poictiers and Paris, and from the last-named university obtained the degree of doctor of both laws. He returned to Scotland

in 1554. He is said to have been made official of Aberdeen in April, 1558. But on 15 July, 1557, we find a charter witnessed by 'M. Joh. Leslie rectore a Nivibus<sup>1</sup> officiali Aberdonen.' (R.M.S. iv. 1228). He was canon of Aberdeen, with the prebend of Oyne, in July, 1559. In April, 1561, he went, on behalf of the Catholic party, to invite Queen Mary to Scotland, and returned in the same ship with her to Leith, 19 Aug. 1561. On 19 [read 20] Jan. 1563-4 the parson of Oyne took his seat as a Lord of Session.<sup>2</sup>

Henry and Mary, king and queen of Scotland, petitioned the pope for the *commendam* of the abbey of Lindores for Lesley. The petition was granted by Pius V., 24 Feb. 1565-6. Lesley appears to have been at Holyrood on the night of the murder of Riccio, 9 March, 1565-6. With many of the nobility, his estates and offices were forfeited to the Crown for treason, 19 Aug. 1568 (A.P. iii. 49-55); but he was rehabilitated 13 March, 1586-7 (R.S.S. lv. 35). Macfarlane (*Genealogical Collections*, ii. 4) says he had three daughters; the first, Janet, married to Andrew Lesley of New Lesley; the second married to Richard Irvine; and the third to Cruikshanks of Tullimoryne.<sup>3</sup>

Arms: On a bend three buckles. Motto, on an escroll beneath the shield, MEMENTO (Macdonald's *Armorial Seals*, Nos. 1621, 1622).

<sup>1</sup> [The 'Snow Church' of Old Aberdeen was a prebend of King's College, and assigned to the doctor in canon law (*Fasti Aberd.* 87).]

<sup>2</sup> [He appears in the sederunts of the Court of Session as parson of Oyne up to 31 July, 1565; as commendator of Lindores from 24 Nov. 1565, to 26 March, 1566; and as bishop of Ross from 1 April, 1566, onwards. But he sometimes styles himself elect of Ross as late as 12 March, 1566-7 (*Reg. of Deeds*, vii. 398).]

<sup>3</sup> [John Lesley, younger of New Lesley, is styled the bishop's grandson and heir in 1599 (*Hist. Records of the Family of Leslie*, iii. 344). Tullimoryne should be Tillymorgan (*ib.* iii. 407). Elizabeth Leslie, natural daughter of John, bishop of Ross, wife of Mr. Richard Irving, burgess of Aberdeen, was legitimated 21 May, 1585 (R.S.S. lii. 129).]

## The Bishops of Caithness

It is impossible to determine with precision the date of the founding of the bishopric.

**ANDREW.** He appears as a frequent witness of royal charters in the reigns of David, Malcolm, and William. His rule may be placed as extending from 1146, *at latest*, till his death, which took place at Dunfermline on 29 Dec. 1184, according to *Scotichronicon* (viii. 33); or, according to the Chronicle of Melrose, on 30 Dec. 1185.<sup>1</sup> He was evidently much about the court. In *Origines Parochiales* (ii. part ii. p. 598) will be found a collection of references to his appearances as a witness. To these have to be added his testing the charter of David, recorded in the *Book of Deer* (95), and his testing a charter of Earl Harald Maddadson, granting to the see of Rome a penny yearly from every inhabited house in Caithness (*Diplom. Norveg.* vii. 2). The date of this latter charter is assigned to about 1181 (see Anderson's introduction to the *Orkneyinga Saga*, p. lxxx).

He was present, with other Scottish bishops, at the Council of Northampton, 25 Jan. 1175-6 (Hoveden, ii. 91).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [The chronicler probably meant 1184 modern style; he usually begins the year at Christmas. See his account of the murder of Archbishop Thomas of Canterbury, which he dates 1171. The date in *Chron. Anglo-Scot.* is 29 Dec. 1185, which likewise should be understood as 1184 modern style.]

<sup>2</sup> [Bishop Andrew had a nephew Gilbert, who had from David, brother of King William, a charter of the lands of Monorgrun (Monorgan) near Dundee, which was confirmed by the king. Matthew, elect of Aberdeen (consecrated 1172), is a witness to

**JOHN.** He witnesses charters (1187-1199): see R.M. 6; Arbroath, i. 17, 99. A mandate of Pope Innocent III., dated 27 May, 1198, directs the bishops of Orkney and Ross to compel 'J. bishop of Caithness,' to desist from preventing the payment of one penny from every house in the county of Caithness, granted by H[arald], earl of Caithness, in the time of Pope Alexander (1159-81), and duly collected in the time of the late Bishop A. (C.P.R. i. 1; *Diplom. Norveg.* vii. 2).

The mutilation of John by the earl of Orkney and Caithness (which has been confused by some with the murder of his successor, Adam) is probably to be placed in 1200 or 1201 (see Sc. viii. 62), though M. seems to assign the event to 1196 or 1197; see the letter of Innocent III. to the bishop of Orkney, ordering him to receive Lomberd, a layman, the bearer of the letter, and to cause him to perform the enjoined penance for having on an expedition with the earl of Caithness stormed a castle in which was the bishop of Caithness, whose tongue he was forced, as he says, by some of the earl's soldiers, to cut out (Opp. Migne's edit. i. 1062).<sup>1</sup>

The *Orkneyinga Saga* tells us that the castle was Skarabolstad (Scrabster), and that John was deprived of his eyes as well as of his tongue. And to the same source is due the story of his recovering both speech and sight through the intervention of Saint Tröllhæna, commonly identified with Saint Triduana, who is said to have died at Restalrig. As John's successor does not appear till 1213, it would seem that John survived his mutilation. For the penance imposed upon Lomberd, see *Orig. Paroch.* ii. 599.

**ADAM.** In *Orkneyinga Saga* he is said to have been a foundling laid at the door of a church. He became abbot of Melrose in 1207; and was elected bishop of Caithness 5 Aug. 1213. He was consecrated on the day of S. Mamertus (11 May), which it may be observed was a Sunday in that

both charters. Copies of these are in the Adv. Lib. MS. 31, 2, 4, p. 11, and the originals were sold in the Phillips sale in 1898.]

<sup>1</sup> [The papal letter is dated from Subiaco, where Innocent III. was in August and September, 1202.]

year, 1214, by William Malvoisine, bishop of St. Andrews. He dedicated the church of St. Mary of Hawick on 29 May, 1214 (M.).

Among certain charges made against William Malvoisine was that he had refused to receive the oath of fealty to the Roman See, which Adam had been prepared to take prior to his consecration (T. No. 6). In 1218 Adam visited Rome, seeking, together with Walter, bishop of Glasgow, and Brice, bishop of Moray, absolution (presumably from the general sentence of excommunication against King Alexander and the whole kingdom of Scotland for the king having supported the cause of the English barons against King John). They were kindly received and readily absolved by the pope. Adam returned home next year (M.; Sc. ix. 33).

In 1222 (on Sunday, 11 Sept.) Adam was cruelly murdered at the episcopal manor, which in the English tongue is called Haukirc (Halkirk in Thorsdal): see M., and, for the year 1222, Icelandic annals. Some details of the transaction may be gathered from the pope's letter to the bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, dated 13 Jan. 1222-3 (T. No. 49). Wyntoun (vii. c. 9) may be compared. Among the numerous documents found in the treasury in Edinburgh in 1282 was a 'quieta clamatio terrarum bondorum Catannie pro interfectione episcopi' (A.P. i. 110).

Among the Kelso charters there is one (Kelso, 203) which is undated, but is witnessed by 'A. abbot of [Melrose?], elect of Caithness.'

An account of the cause of quarrel between the people of Caithness and the bishop drawn from *Orkneyinga Saga* will be found, well put, in *Orig. Paroch.* ii. 600. Adam's body was first interred before the altar of the baptismal church (of Skinnet), and in 1239 translated to the seat of the bishopric, Dornoch (M.).

Charter evidence is scanty; an undated charter of Brice, bishop of Moray, is witnessed by 'A. bishop of Caithness,' and also by Adam's successor in the see of Caithness, Gilbert, archdeacon of Moray (R.M. No. 54).

**GILBERT DE MORAVIA**, for many years archdeacon of Moray. He appears to have been a member of the family of

the lord of Duffus in Moray.<sup>1</sup> The evidence for the date of his election is not very satisfactory. In a document of no very high authority, *Extracta e variis cronicis*, it is placed under 1223. Sc. (viii. 27) remarks that it was said (*fertur*) that the young cleric who defended the rights and independence of the Scottish Church at the Council of Northampton, was afterwards chamberlain of the king, and thence advanced to the bishopric of Caithness. This, I think, is only a late conjecture, based on the fact that the name Gilbert belonged to both the clerk at Northampton and to our bishop of Caithness. It is related (Sc. ix. 38) that Gilbert's election took place in the presence of the king with the chiefs of his army. This was perhaps on the king's expedition to the north in 1223. There was a bishop of Caithness on 10 April, 1224 (T. No. 52), and 'G.' was bishop of Caithness, 19 July, 1224 (R.M. No. 58).<sup>2</sup>

The constitution which Gilbert drew up for his cathedral at Dornoch is printed in the *Bannatyne Club Misc.* vol. iii. from a MS. in the record-room of Dunrobin Castle; and a full abstract will be found in *Orig. Paroch.* ii. 601, 602.

Gilbert is generally believed to have died 1 April, 1245. The *Icelandic Annals* give the year as 1244. Whether he was ever formally canonised or not, his *cultus* as Saint Gilbert was observed; and the propers for his feast, 1 April, will be found in the Aberdeen Breviary.

The Sutherland Charters (as quoted by Sir Robert Gordon, p. 426) reveal that he had a controversy with William, earl of Sutherland, about episcopal lands.

**WILLIAM.** Date of accession unknown. In 1250 William, bishop of Caithness, with six other Scottish bishops, complain to Alexander III. of certain spoliations of church property (A.P. i. 425).

**WALTER DE BALTRODI** (Baltrodin, Baltroddi), canon of Caithness. In a letter of Urban IV. 13 June, 1263, the pope

<sup>1</sup> [According to *Scots Peerage*, ii. 121, he was son of Murdach, son of Alexander de Moravia; his exact relationship to the family of Duffus is not known.]

<sup>2</sup> [G. bishop of Caithness, attended a council at Dundee in 1230 (Agreement *penes* earl of Moray).]

recounts that on the voidance of the see, the dean and chapter convened according to custom, and elected *concorditer* Walter de Baltrodin, their fellow-canon. The decree of the election was presented to the pope by Roger of Aberdeen, canon of Caithness. On the decree being examined at the papal court it was pronounced to be *contra formam canonicam*. But the pope taking into consideration the poverty of the church of Caithness, the expenses of the journey, and the unanimous wish of the chapter, commits to the bishops of Dunkeld, Brechin and Ross to examine the birth and attainments of Walter; and, if they were satisfied, to advance him 'nostra auctoritate,' and to consecrate him after receiving his oath of fealty to the Roman See. Failing to find him fit, they were to provide a fit person 'auctoritate nostra' (T. No. 229). Walter was appointed. For a reference to the king's tenth penny paid to the bishop in 1263 out of the profits of the justiciar of Caithness, see *Orig. Paroch.* ii. 603. Walter died in 1270 (Sc. x. 27). There was some delay in filling up the vacancy.

**NICHOLAS**, abbot of Scone, and prebendary of Caithness 'ratione monasterii,' for, according to Bishop Gilbert's constitution, the abbot of Scone was to be a canon, holding as his prebend the church of Kelduninach [Kildonan], was elected, but according to *Extracta* (110) 'plus regis precario quam vite merito.' The decree of the election was presented to Gregory X. by Master Henry de Nottingham, canon of Caithness, and was not confirmed on account of the abbot's 'intolerable lack of learning,' and licence was given for a fresh election (C.P.R. i. 446: see also Sc. x. 33). It may be remarked that Dr. J. Anderson expresses his opinion that the Nottingham from which Henry takes his name is the place still bearing the name Nottingham near Forse in Caithness (*Orkneyinga Saga*, p. lxxxiv, note).

**ARCHIBALD** (? Heroch, Hayrock), archdeacon of Moray, only in deacon's orders. We find an Archibald, archdeacon of Moray, in 1258 (R.M. 135), and an Archibald Heroch, archdeacon of Moray, in 1268 (*ib.* 279).

After the rejection of Abbot Nicholas, the dean and chapter obtained as a favour from the pope (4 June, 1273) licence to proceed to a new election. They convened and unanimously agreed to proceed *per viam compromissi*. The *compromissarii*

were only three, namely, the dean, the treasurer named Patrick, and Master Roger de Castello, a canon. Archibald, archdeacon of Moray, was chosen. Master Roger and Robert, vicar of Duffus, were sent to the Apostolic See with the decree of the election. The election was declared canonical; but the pope, being unable to satisfy himself as to the fitness of the elect, commits the inquiry to the bishops of Moray, Aberdeen and Argyll. If they were satisfied, Archibald was to be ordained priest, and afterwards, when they had taken his oath of fealty, consecrated bishop. If Archibald was not judged fit, they were to cause the dean and chapter to elect another. Lyons, 1 Nov. 1274 (T. No. 259).

This falls in well with Sc. x. 33. Archibald was consecrated in 1275 (Sc. x. 36). In the same year a long-standing controversy of the bishops of Caithness with the earls of Sutherland was amicably settled, and favourably for the episcopal see (*Sutherland Book*, iii. 7).

The date of Archibald's death is not ascertained; but he was dead at least three months before 9 March, 1278-9: see next entry.

*R(ICHARD)*,<sup>1</sup> dean of Caithness, elected *concorditer, per viam compromissi*, more than three months before 9 March, 1278-9, when PP. Nicholas III. wrote to the bishops of St. Andrews and Aberdeen, and to the 'Minister provincialis' of the Minor Friars in Scotland. The pope sets forth that the decree of R.'s election to the see, fortified by the seals of the dean and chapter and of several Scottish bishops, with Letters Testimonial on behalf of the dean, desiring the pope's confirmation of the election, had been presented by the chapter's proctor, Henry de Nottingham. He further sets forth that the proctor in his presence confessed that the dean had a son of more than thirty years of age, *genitum de soluta*, and that the dean was said to have another son, though he (the proctor) did not believe it; that the dean had consented to the election by allowing himself to be solemnly borne to the altar with the singing of the *Te Deum*, and had received the canons *ad osculum*. By others the pope had been informed that the dean had been struck by paralysis, and was so worn out by age that he could

<sup>1</sup>[See next entry.]

not duly execute the pastoral office. Moreover the dean, if he gave his consent, which was not proved, though asserted, did not seek confirmation within three months from the date of the election being presented to him, according to the constitution of the Council of Lyons. The pope desiring to deal mercifully with the dean commands the bishops and the provincial, above named, to lay the premisses before the dean and persuade him to resign his right (if he had any) arising from the election, so that the chapter might proceed to a fresh election. If the dean refuses to resign they were to examine into the form of the election and the merits of the elect, his life and conversation, his alleged disease, old age and weakness, and to require him to appear in person at the Apostolic See to be examined, if necessary, in letters (*super litteratura*), etc. (T. No. 270). The old dean yielded to the pressure and resigned : see next entry.

**HERVEY DE DONODEI** (Dundee), canon of St. Andrews. On the resignation of 'Richard,' dean of Caithness, the chapter elected *per viam scrutinii* Hervey de Donodei, canon of St. Andrews, who went to the Apostolic See *pro negotio electionis*, and there died ; whereupon the pope, Martin IV. (according to the custom by which all sees falling vacant by death at the Apostolic See were filled by the pope without capitular election) appointed Alan (C.P.R. i. 464, 465).

**ALAN DE ST. EDMUND** : provided by the pope (as related in last entry) 13 April, 1282. Alan is described as formerly chaplain of Hugh, presbyter-cardinal of St. Laurence in Lucina.<sup>1</sup> The see void by the death of Archibald.<sup>2</sup> The pope himself with his own hands gave consecration.<sup>3</sup>

Alan, presumably from his connection as chaplain with Hugh of Evesham, an Englishman, figures largely as in favour with Edward I. of England in the various transactions after the death

<sup>1</sup> This was Hugh of Evesham in the diocese of Worcester. Created cardinal in 1281 by Martin IV. His eminence in the art of medicine had attracted notice (Ciaconius, ii. 239).

<sup>2</sup> It will be noted that the appointment of Alan is eight years earlier than K.'s earliest notice of him.

<sup>3</sup> [Marini's Vatican Transcripts, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 15363, f. 384. C.P.R. i. 464 omits the last particular.]

of Alexander III. His appearances are well recorded in *Orig. Paroch.* ii. 604-6, and need not be repeated here. He was made by Edward I. chancellor of Scotland. He received the seal of the regency of Scotland, and took the oath to discharge the office according to the laws and customs of Scotland, on June 12, 1291, near Norham (*Fæd.* i. 768).<sup>1</sup>

Alan died apparently between 26 Oct. 1291, when Edward gave an order that 40 oaks should be given to Alan out of the forest of Ternaway in Moray, suitable for the fabric of his church of Caithness (*Rot. Scot.* i. 6), and about the end of November. He had been dead for some time on 12 Dec. (*ib.*).

On 8 Jan. 1291-2, Edward I., in recognition of the faithful service of Alan of good memory, bishop of Caithness and chancellor of Scotland, granted that all the bishop's *bona et catalla* within the kingdom of Scotland at the date of the bishop's death, which according to the custom of Scotland pertained to him as overlord of Scotland, should be delivered to the prior of Coldingham and to the bishop's brother, Master Adam de St. Edmund, parson of the church of Lestalrik, to be distributed *pro anima dicti defuncti* (*ib.*).

'I.' (? JOHN or JAMES). On the death of Alan, 'I.' was elected by the chapter of Caithness; but the decree of the election does not appear to have been submitted to the pope at earliest before January, 1294-5, for it is Boniface VIII. who dealt with it. 'I.' was archdeacon of Caithness. After the decree of the election had been examined the pope declared it not to have been canonically celebrated, and therefore null; but he, 'desiring that the same church (Caithness) should be no longer widowed,' advances by the plenitude of apostolic power—

**ADAM**, precentor of Ross, before 29 April, 1296. He had at that date been consecrated by H(ugo), cardinal-bishop of Ostia, by order of the pope (T. No. 353).

<sup>1</sup> [The document in which the bishop of Caithness is mentioned as chancellor, 31 May, 1290 (B.C. ii. No. 432) is in bad condition; but careful inspection has proved that Bain has misread the MS., and that for 'the bishop of Caithness' we should read 'Thomas de Carnoto' (cf. B.C. ii. No. 524)].

He died at Sienna in the same year, before 17 Dec. 1296, when his successor was appointed (T. No. 359).

**ANDREW**, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Cupar. Provided, 'though absent,' by Boniface VIII., 17 Dec. 1296. His wise and energetic rule of Cupar is referred to (T. No. 359). Concurrent letters to the dean and chapter, and to the king of Scotland.

On 1 Aug. 1297 the pope writes from Orvieto to the bishops of Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Ross, narrating that Andrew had represented to him that on account of the hazards of the wars in those parts it would be burdensome and dangerous for him to resort to the Apostolic See for consecration. The pope therefore allowed Andrew to choose the principal consecrator from among the three bishops, who, with the others assisting, should consecrate him, after receiving his oath of fealty to the Roman Church (T. No. 360).<sup>1</sup>

**FERQUHARD** (Fercard, Forcard) **BELEGAUMBE**. Balle-ganach (K.); Ferchardus Beleraumbe (R.M.S. p. 16, No. 84); the name in R.M.S. may be read, according to Dr. Maitland Thomson, Beleiaumbe; Balleganube (Anderson, *Historical Essay*, etc., 1705, Appendix No. 14). Dr. Maitland Thomson has examined the original of the document referred to by Anderson (printed in A.P. i. 460), and is satisfied that the surname is Belegaumbe.

He was dean of Caithness.<sup>2</sup> He was probably elected in the spring of 1304: for on 16 June, 1304, Fercard, bishop-elect of Caithness, going to Rome on the business of his election, receives a safe-conduct from King Edward I. for one year (B.C. ii. No. 1574). Election by the chapter confirmed by Clement V. on 22 Jan. 1305-6 (C.P.R. ii. 8). On the voidance of the see by the death of Andrew the chapter appointed three of the canons, William, Henry abbot of Scone, and David de Rach, to make the election. Ferquhard was elected, and went to the Apostolic See; the election was examined by three cardinals, and confirmed. The bishop elect was to be consecrated by P[eter], cardinal-bishop of Sabina (*ib.*).

<sup>1</sup> [The see was vacant 29 July, 1297 (B.C. ii. No. 927).]

<sup>2</sup> [Ferghard Belejaumbe, presumably the same person, was appointed archdeacon of Caithness by Edward I. in 1297 (B.C. ii. No. 927).]

Concurrent letters to the people of the diocese, to the dean and chapter, to the vassals of the see, to the clergy of the diocese, and to the king of England (C.P.R. ii. 9). Note that the king of England was addressed: one of the many examples of the pope's recognition of the king of England as being at this time master of Scotland.

On 4 April, 1306, King Edward I. commands the guardians of Scotland to deliver the temporalities of the bishopric of Caithness to Fercard, late dean of Caithness, whose election had been confirmed by the pope, and whose fealty had been taken by the king. Safe-conduct to him returning to his diocese (B.C. ii. No. 1752).

As certain words in the Bull of confirmation of Ferquhard appeared to be prejudicial to Edward's rights, the bishop renounced the Bull *quoad* these words and acknowledged that he held his temporality of the king of England (B.C. ii. 1752).<sup>1</sup> In 1309-10 he acknowledges Bruce's right to the crown (A.P. i. 460). In 1312 he attests the payment of 100 marks (the tribute for the Hebrides) to the king of Norway (*ib.* 462). We find Ferchard Beleiaumbe witnessing a charter of King Robert I. 10 July, 1321 (R.M.S. i. p. 16, No. 84). Certainly the see was void at Martinmas, 1327 (E.R. i. 114). See also next entry.

**DAVID.** David's *obligavit* is dated 26 Jan. 1327-8 (E. i. 183). He is named in the papal letter appointing his successor. Does David appear in Scottish record?<sup>2</sup>

He died in Scotland (*in partibus illis*), T. No. 548; and was the immediate predecessor of Alan.<sup>3</sup>

He appears to have been bishop for about twelve years.

**ALAN**, archdeacon of Aberdeen, in deacon's orders. In a letter of Benedict XII., dated Avignon, 16 Jan. 1340-1,

<sup>1</sup> [Cf. Stubbs, *Constit. History of England*, 5th ed., iii. 317-9.]

<sup>2</sup> [Apparently he is never mentioned by name in Scottish record; but he is evidently the bishop who made a fine with the chamberlain in 1329, perhaps for entry to the temporalities (E.R. i. 207, 237).]

<sup>3</sup> There is obviously no place for the election of Nicholas in 1332, whom Joseph Robertson places in Caithness (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, ii. 31, note). The Nicholas referred to was bishop, not of Caithness (*Catanensis*), but of Catania (*Cataniensis*). See E. i. 183.

addressed to 'Alan, bishop of Caithness,' it is recounted that, on the death of David of good memory, the chapter of Ross convened and proceeded to elect *per formam scrutinii*. The *scrutatores* were Adam called Heroch, chancellor, Gilbert, treasurer, and John de Moravia, canon, of the said church. Alan, archdeacon of Aberdeen, in deacon's orders, was elected *concorditer*, and the election published solemnly *clero et populo*.

After consenting, Alan resorted to the Apostolic See (together with proctors of the chapter), seeking confirmation. Three cardinals (named) reported favourably; Alan's selection was confirmed, and he, having been first raised to the priesthood, was consecrated by Peter, bishop of Sabina.<sup>1</sup> Concurrent letters to the chapter, the clergy and people of the city and diocese of Caithness, and to King David (T. No. 548).

On 22 May, 1342, a petition for the archdeaconry of Aberdeen, void by the consecration of Alan, bishop of Caithness, is granted (C.P.R. Pet. i. 1). Alan died 'in those parts' (Caithness or Scotland) before he had completed the second year of his episcopate, for

**THOMAS DE FINGASK** (Fyngasc), dean of Brechin (see below), canon of Caithness, licentiate in Decrees, in priest's orders, had been elected, had resigned all right derived from the election into the hands of Clement VI., and had by him been appointed to the see by 29 Nov. 1342 (T. No. 551). In this letter the pope recounts that, on the death of Alan, the chapter had convened, and *per formam scrutinii* had elected Thomas *concorditer*. He, with proctors of the chapter, had gone to the Apostolic See, and prayed for the confirmation of the election. The election was, as usual, examined by three cardinals (named), when *certis ex causis*, yet not '*personae tue vito*,' he resigned all right which in any way arose from the election into the hands of the pope. In such cases of resignation the pope claimed to appoint without a capitular election. He appoints Thomas (*ib.*). Concurrent letters to the chapter, to the clergy and people of the 'city and diocese of Caithness,' and to David, king of Scotland.

In addition to being a canon of Caithness, Thomas was, at the time of his consecration, dean of Brechin and a canon of

<sup>1</sup> Petrus Gometii (E. i. 15).

Aberdeen, with the prebend of Morthlac (C.P.R. iii. 54, 79). He was consecrated apparently early in 1343, for on 8 March, 1342-3, Clement VI. granted the petition of Philip Wilde for the deanery of Brechin, void by the promotion and consecration of Thomas de 'Fyngaske' to the see of Caithness (C.P.R. Pet. i. 15). He has a safe-conduct from Edward III. about April, 1348,<sup>1</sup> (B.C. iii. No. 1527). He was appointed by the clergy to treat with the English for the ransom of King David (A. P. i. 515, 518). He is a witness 13 August, 1359 (R.M. 368).

By K. and Grub (i. 353) he is said to have died in 1360. But Malcolm (see next entry) was the immediate successor of Thomas.

It may be remarked that the 'Thomas episcopus Cathayensis' provided 11 May, 1360 (T. No. 641), who has caused some perplexity (see Dr. Anderson's Introduction to *Ork. Saga*, p. lxxxvi, note), was bishop, not of Caithness, but of Iniscattery in Ireland.

**MALCOLM**, canon of Caithness, and also of Orkney. There was a bishop-elect of Caithness (probably Malcolm) in 1368 (E.R. ii. 300). Provided by Urban V.; Avignon, 21 Feb. 1368-9 (T. No. 681). The pope in this letter recounts that, on the death of Thomas, the chapter, ignorant, as they asserted, of the pope's reservation to himself of the provision, convened and elected *concorditer* Malcolm, a canon of Caithness, in priest's orders. Malcolm, ignorant of the pope's reservation, consented when the decree of the election was presented to him; and on learning the facts as to the reservation he had the matter of the election laid before the pope in consistory. The pope declared the election null and void, as being contrary to the reservation but *auctoritate apostolica* provided Malcolm to the see. Concurrent letters to the chapter, to the 'people of the city and diocese of Caithness,' and to David, king of Scotland (*ib.*).

That Malcolm was at the time of his consecration a canon of Orkney we learn from a Bull of Gregory XI., Avignon, 28 March, 1376, granting the canonry and prebend in the church of Orkney, vacant by the preferment of Malcolm to the see of Caithness, to William of Spynie (*Dipl. Norweg.* vii. 309).

The earliest Scottish notice I have observed is that Malcolm,

<sup>1</sup> [Or rather 1349. See *Rot. Scot.* i. 727.]

bishop of Caithness, witnessed a charter of Robert II. at Scone, 3 April, 1373 (A.P. i. 562; see also 549).

Keith is obviously wrong in placing his death in 1421; unless indeed he had resigned the see long before: see next entry.<sup>1</sup>

**ALEXANDER (MAN)**, canon of Moray, and archdeacon of Ross (C.P.R. Pet. i. 556). An Alexander Man was archdeacon of Ross in Oct. 1380 (R.M. 183).<sup>2</sup> For the name 'Man' we find 'Alexander Man' bishop of Caithness, 6 July, 1395 (R.P.S.A. 2).

Alexander was elect of Caithness 24 Sept. 1381 (C.P.R. Pet. i. 556). Eubel gives the date of his appointment by Clement VII. as 21 Oct. 1381. He is bishop of Caithness on 10 Dec. 1381, when his petition for licence to dispense fifty persons of illegitimate birth, so that they may be ordained and hold benefices, was granted to the extent of twenty-five persons (C.P.R. Pet. i. 565). Alexander is bishop of Caithness 27 Oct. 1389 (R.M. 200), and in July, 1395, as above.

Keith, without citing evidence, which was probably no more than Spottiswoode's statement (i. 218), gives the date of Alexander Man's death as 1409. This leaves a rather long interval till the appointment of his successor.

**ALEXANDER DE VAUS**, archdeacon of Caithness (E.). According to Mr. R. Vans Agnew (*Correspondence of Sir Patrick Waus*, p. xxvi) the bishop was the younger son of William de Vaus, who died in 1392. He further states that Alexander had possessed church livings in Galloway as early as 1381.

Eubel gives the date of his appointment by Benedict XIII. as 4 May, 1414. He appears in 1418-9 (Melrose, 499), in 1420 (R.B. i. 39), and on 29 March, 1421 (R.M.S. ii. No. 156).

On 4 Dec. 1422, Martin V. absolved Alexander from the bond by which he was held to the church of Caithness, and translated him, then at the Apostolic See, to the church of

<sup>1</sup> [Alexander's appointment is said to be on the death of Malcolm (E.).]

<sup>2</sup> [His appointment to the archdeaconry was validated by Pope Gregory XI., 19 Aug. 1376 (*Reg. Vat. 288, 287*).]

Candida Casa in Scotland (B., and E.).<sup>1</sup> See also C.P.R. vii. 287; his oath of fealty on translation was to be received by the bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld. Before his appointment to Caithness he had been provided to Orkney by Benedict XIII., but he did not have himself consecrated within the canonical time (*ib.* 185). [See Galloway].

**JOHN DE CRANACH** (Crannach, Crannoch, Cranok),<sup>2</sup> dean of Ross, rector of Chantonay in the diocese of Le Mans, M.A., and bachelor in Theology. Provided by Martin V., 4 Dec. 1422, to Caithness, void by the translation of Alexander to Candida Casa. The Bulls were not expedited within the year, and he received a fresh provision, 11 Dec. 1424 (B.; E.; C.P.R. vii. 407). He, about to visit the Roman court, is given a safe-conduct, 4 Dec. 1425 (B.C. iv. No. 988).

Translated by Martin V. to Brechin, 7 June, 1426 (E., and B.). John was at Rome at the time of his translation (C.P.R. viii. 31). [See Brechin.]

**ROBERT STRATHBROCK** (Strabrok), priest of the diocese of St. Andrews,<sup>3</sup> provided by Martin V. on the translation of John to Brechin, 4 June, 1427 (C.P.R. viii. 31; E.; B.). He was bishop of Caithness, 10 Oct. 1444 (R.M.S. ii. No. 281).

**JOHN INNES**, dean of Ross, or, more properly, claiming to be dean of Ross (for the dispute on that question, see C.P.R. viii.). In the papal records he appears as cantor of Caithness (E.). [Provided 8 April, 1446 (*Obligazioni*); in Eubel misprinted 6 April.] He was elect 'sub die xxvi mensis Februarii more Scoticano,' *i.e.* 26 Feb. 1446-7. His *obtulit* of 273 gold florins and the third of a florin was made by the hands of Laurence Pyot, presbyter of the diocese of St. Andrews, 5 June, 1447 (B.).

<sup>1</sup>[In B. this date and that of the next appointment to Caithness are misprinted 3 Dec.]

<sup>2</sup>[He was a determinant at Paris, 1405; licentiate, 1406; procurator of the English nation several times, 1409-1415; and rector of the university. He appears there up to 1417 (*Auct. Chart. Univ. Paris.* i. 897, 923; ii. *passim*).]

<sup>3</sup>[He graduated at Paris, determinant, 1409; licentiate, 1410 (*Auct. Chart. Univ. Paris.* ii. 63, 74).]

That John died in the year 1448 as stated by Keith, on the authority probably of Spottiswoode, falls in with the next entry.

**WILLIAM MUDY** (Moody), precentor of Ross, M.A. (E.). Provided 8 March, 1447-8 (E.); *obtulit* 15 March, 1447-8, as elect of Caithness, 650 gold florins; and on the 14 April, 1448, the Camera deliberated on a composition offered by William, bishop of Caithness, to pay 200 florins within the year 'pro communi servitio' (B.).

On 18 Sept. 1455, by a deed dated at the chapter-house at Dornoch, William, with consent of the dean and chapter, made a grant to his brother-german, Gilbert Mudy, of the keepership of the castles of Scrabster and Skeboll, and of the surrounding lands (R.M.S. ii. No. 1404). He witnesses great-seal charters in August, 1464 (R.M.S. ii.).

He was present in Parliament at Stirling, 4 April, 1449, and again in 1459 (A.P. ii. 60; Supplement 26).

On 5 June, 1469, he founded a chaplainry in St. Anthony's, Leith. The chaplain was to pray for, among others, the soul of the bishop's brother, Gilbert Mudy of Caldwell (original in the Register House, Cal. No. 414).

In the episcopate of Mudy, Pius II. erected, of new, a certain sacred immunity (sanctuary) extending for three miles on every side of the cathedral church of Caithness, the boundaries to be marked with the sign of the cross (R.M.S. ii. No. 802).

He was one of the Lords of Council, at Edinburgh, 30 June, 1477 (R.B. i. 200). Eubel places his death in this year.

**PROSPER** (Prosper Cannilio de Janua), proto-notary of the Apostolic See; of the household (*familiaris*) of the cardinal of St. Peter<sup>1</sup> (E. ii. 136). Provided 25 May, 1478 (E.). The temporality was not granted till 12 Sept. 1481 (R.M.S. ii. No. 1489). Spottiswoode (i. 218) says Prosper resigned in favour of John Sinclair, son of the earl of Caithness, who was never consecrated; but Eubel makes John succeed on the *death* of Prosper. [But this is a misprint; the record says 'per resignationem domini Prosperis ultimi episcopi.']}

<sup>1</sup> The cardinal of the title of St. Peter ad Vincula at this date was Julian della Rovere, who afterwards became Pope Julius II. He was a nephew of Sixtus IV., who was pope when Prosper was appointed to Caithness.

**JOHN SINCLAIR**; Joannes de S. Claro, magister in artibus, archidiaconus Zalandiae [Zetlandiae?] in ecclesia Orcha-densi (E. ii. 136); according to Spottiswoode (i. 218) son of the earl of Orkney. Provided 26 May, 1484 (E. ii. 136).

As there are doubts about his consecration I have entered his name in italic capitals. We find in R.S.S. (i. No. 617) a presentation by the king to 'the archdenry of Schetland vacand be ourpassing of tyme of the consecratiooun of umquhile M. Johne Sinclair in the bischop of Cathanes, last possessour of the said archidenry.' This, so far as it goes, supports the view that Sinclair was not consecrated. The date is 21 Jan. 1500-1. The see was void in June, 1494 (*Act. Dom. Concil.* 334, 341), [and in Aug. 1497 (R.S.S. i. 119, 120)].

**ANDREW STEWART** (I.), canon of Glasgow (E. ii. 136), 'consanguineus' of the king; suffering from defect of birth, 'utpote a presbytero de illustrium genere et soluta genitus' (*ib.*). See K. who says he was a natural son of the house of Invermeath.<sup>1</sup> Provided 26 Nov. 1501 (B. 148; E. ii. 136). The see is said to have been vacant by the death of John.

On 26 March, 1502 (B. prints 1562, an obvious error), his proctor *obligavit* for 233 and two-thirds gold florins (B. *ib.*).

Andrew, bishop of Caithness, witnessed the marriage settlement of James IV., 13 March, 1503-4 (A.P. ii. 273). References to him as bishop in 1504, 1509, 1511, 1514, 1515, 1516, will be found in *Orig. Paroch.* ii. 608, and E. R. xiv. 48, 76, 140, 214. In 1511 he was appointed treasurer of the king.<sup>2</sup> He was commendator of Kelso and Ferne (R.M.S. iii. No. 281)<sup>3</sup>: see also T. No. 927, and *Spalding Club Misc.* ii. 105.

<sup>1</sup>[He and George Stewart, archdeacon of Caithness, his brother, were legitimated 26 Feb. 1511-2 (R.S.S. i. 2377).]

<sup>2</sup>[Or rather in 1510 (Tr. A. i. p. xxxiii). His extant accounts run from 25 Aug. 1511 to 29 Oct. 1512, but there was a previous account of his which is lost (Tr. A. iv. 155). He was again treasurer in 1513 and 1514 (R.M.S.).]

<sup>3</sup>[He appears as commendator of Ferne, 1511 (*Act. Dom. Concil.* xxiii. 127). He was admitted to the temporality of Kelso 10 Aug. 1512 (R.S.S. i. 2421).]

It had been intended by the governor in 1514 to have Andrew translated to Aberdeen in the event of Elphinstone being translated to St. Andrews. Elphinstone consented that in that case Andrew and the diocese of Aberdeen should be freed from the primatial and legatine authority of the archbishop (*Reg. Epist. Scot.* i. 184).

The statement of K. that Andrew died 17 June, 1518, is obviously incorrect (see next entry); perhaps the date should be 17 June, 1517. That his death was at Skibo in June, 1517 (a witness in a consistorial case said, 'about the beginning of June'), appears from T. No. 927.

[Arms (Macdonald's *Armorial Seals*, No. 2659): 1st and 4th, a fess chequy; 2nd and 3rd, a lymphad; in fess point between the quarters, an annulet.]

**ANDREW STEWART (II.)**, canon of Dunkeld, prebendary of Cragyn, rector of Blair.

He was (illegitimate)<sup>1</sup> son of John, earl of Atholl (K.).

He had been postulate of Dunkeld in opposition to Gavin Douglas. He was recommended by Albany for Caithness in 1515 (*Letters, etc.*, *Henry VIII.* ii. 778) perhaps when Andrew (I.) was expected to succeed to Aberdeen. On 24 July, 1517, he was recommended for Caithness by Albany writing, from Dieppe, to Leo X. (T. No. 919).

He was provided by the pope to Caithness on 14 Dec.<sup>2</sup> 1517. The see is said to be void by the death of Andrew Stewart, bishop of Caithness. And the newly provided is described as 'canon of Dunkeld, procreated of an illustrious race of earls.' An annual pension from the fruits of the churches of Alith and Cargill, in the diocese of Dunblane [*lege Dunkeld*], is extinguished. The revenue of the see is placed at 400 florins, and the *taxa* at 600.<sup>3</sup> It is worth noting that the *Vatican*, *Chigi* and

<sup>1</sup> [There is no evidence that he was illegitimate; the Privy Seal writ of 1541 quoted in text plainly refers to another person, not a bishop but a pensioner on the revenues. The mistake is due to the editor of *Orig. Paroch.*]

<sup>2</sup> [So a Vatican MS. of the Consistorial Acts (*die Lunæ* 14 Dec. which is correct), one of the *Barberini* copies and *Oblig.* and E.; other MSS. give 2 Dec.]

<sup>3</sup> There would seem to be an error here.

*Paris* copies give the surname of the bishop as 'Hemcare,' but the *Barberini* reads 'Stewart' (B. 149).

He seems to have died, not legitimated and intestate, in 1541 (R.S.S. xix. 48) : see next entry.<sup>1</sup>

*ROBERT STEWART*, second son of John, earl of Lennox, and brother of Matthew, earl of Lennox.

On 27 Jan. 1541-2 the pope (Paul III.), 'referente R.D. Card. de Parisio,' granted the administration of the church of Caithness to Robert Estuard, noble, being in the twentieth year of his age, up to the twenty-seventh year of his age, and then 'in titulo,' with a dispensation for age and retention of his benefices (B. 149).

On 20 Feb. 1541-2 we find Robert Stewart witnessing as 'postulate of Caithness and provost of the collegiate church of Dunbarton' (R.M.S. vol. iii. No. 2611). This was probably before the news of the papal appointment had reached St. Andrews, where the deed was witnessed. In 1544 he appears as 'elect and confirmed' (Sutherland Charters, as cited in *Orig. Paroch.* ii. 608).

In 1544 the bishop elect took part in the treasonable action of his brother, the earl, and with him passed into England to the court of Henry VIII. In consequence of his action Queen Mary wrote to Paul III. on 12 Dec. 1544 (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* ii. 222-3), and from her letter, in which she speaks of the pope having committed the administration of Caithness to Stewart 'ab hinc triennio,' we gather that he was not in Holy Orders, and, in fact, had only received the tonsure. There does not appear to be any evidence that Stewart ever received even the priesthood. In this letter the queen also prays that Stewart might be cited by the pope to answer for his misdeeds, and that the pope would be pleased to commit the see of Caithness to Alexander (Gordon) 'nobili adolescenti,' brother of the earl of Huntly. It does not appear that the pope ever deprived Stewart and appointed Gordon to Caithness. But Gordon appears as 'postulate of Caithness' as late as 18 Aug. 1547 (R.S.S. xxi. 32). Indeed, in the covenant between the duke of Somerset and George, earl of Huntly, dated 5 Dec. 1548,

<sup>1</sup> He was in Parliament at Edinburgh, 10 Dec. 1540 (R.M.S. vol. iii. No. 2232).

Alexander is styled 'postulate of Catness, his (Huntly's) germyn brother' (*Spalding Misc.* iv. 145). And as regards the temporalities, so far as the Crown could convey them, they seem for a time to have been recognised as Gordon's, though, as a matter of fact, but very imperfectly enjoyed by him.

As early as 6 August, 1545, the queen granted Stewart a remission of his treasonable conduct, and permitted him to return to Scotland to answer in the ecclesiastical courts, a summons probably issued by the pope in response to her request (R.S.S. xix. 29).

On 1 Oct. 1545 the cardinal in Parliament protests that the lords temporal are not competent judges of a bishop-elect, but his ordinary only in virtue of the pope's commission. The lords think they cannot proceed against Robert Stewart upon the summons of treason, but that the ordinary proceed (A.P. ii. 456).

The dispute between the two claimants to the see was settled by a contract dated 6 Aug. 1548, whereby Alexander renounced his claim in consideration of a pension to be paid out of the bishopric (*Acta Dom. Conc. et Sess.* xxv. 32). This will explain the reference to the licence granted to Gordon, when provided to Glasgow, that he should retain 40 marks from a pension out of the bishopric of Caithness.

Gordon was provided to Glasgow on 5 March, 1550: see Glasgow.

Robert Stewart joined the Reformers. In the General Assembly at Perth, 25 June, 1563, he was granted a commission to plant kirks within his own bounds (Calderwood, ii. 224). He is styled in 1579 earl of Lennox and bishop of Caithness (Sutherland Charters, quoted *Orig. Paroch.* ii. 615); [in 1580 and afterwards, earl of March and bishop of Caithness (R.M.S. v. 171, etc.)]; and, though never consecrated, retained the title of bishop of Caithness till his death in 1586. His monument in St. Leonard's Church, St. Andrews, gives the day of his death as 29 Aug. 1586, in his sixty-third year.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Many particulars as to the administration of the property of the see by Stewart will be found in *Orig. Paroch.* ii. pp. 608-15. Particulars as to his political and private life need not be considered here.

[Arms—Macdonald (*Armorial Seals*, Nos. 2621-2624) gives one seal of his as elect of Caithness, two as bishop, one as earl of Lennox. The first bears: 1st and 4th, three *fleurs-de-lis* within a bordure charged with eight buckles; 2nd and 3rd, a fess chequy within a bordure charged with eight buckles. *Surtout*: a saltire between four roses. The second: 1st and 4th as above; 2nd and 3rd, a fess chequy within a bordure engrailed. *Surtout* as above. The third: 1st and 4th as above; 2nd and 3rd, a fess chequy within a bordure engrailed, charged with eight buckles. *Surtout* as above. Motto: ILLVMINA. The fourth: 1st and 4th, three *fleurs-de-lis* within a bordure charged with four buckles; 2nd and 3rd, a fess chequy within a bordure engrailed. *Surtout*: a saltire engrailed between four roses. Crest: on a helmet with mantling and wreath, a bull head. Motto: AVAND DARNLIE. Supporters: two wolves.]

## The Bishops of Orkney

SOMETHING of confusion is found in the study of the early bishops of Orkney, due to the fact that the archbishops of York for a time consecrated bishops for Orkney, while other bishops were consecrated for the same see by the archbishop of Hamburg. After the establishment of the archbishopric of Nidaros (Trondhjem) in Norway in the year 1152 it was expressly ordained by the authority of the pope that the bishop of Orkney was a suffragan of Nidaros. Up to that date Orkney seems to have formed something of a debatable land with no certain ecclesiastical superior.

The earliest notice we have of bishops sent to the Orkneys is to be found in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Adam of Bremen, who on this matter (as a contemporary) is an authority well qualified to speak. He relates that Adalbert, archbishop of Hamburg (1043-72), whose jurisdiction extended over Denmark, Norway and Sweden, on an application to him made by a legation from Iceland, Greenland, and Orkney to send them 'preachers,' ordained a bishop named Thorulf, and, after him, another bishop named Adalbert. It would seem that these bishops had no definite dioceses, but exercised the episcopal office, somewhat after the manner of a missionary bishop.<sup>1</sup>

In the Life of St. Magnus we are told expressly that

**WILLIAM** ('the old') was the *first* bishop of the Orcades, and that he was bishop for sixty-six years. Most writers are somewhat suspicious as to the accuracy of the statement as to the length of

<sup>1</sup> Munch points out that in Norway in early times there were bishops without any fixed see (*Bannatyne Misc.*, iii. 182).

his episcopate; and perhaps there is some exaggeration. But the epithet 'Old' applied to him seems to point to some exceptional duration of life. In 1848 when repairs were being executed in the cathedral at Kirkwall, his bones were found enclosed in a stone cist, thirty inches long and fifteen inches wide, along with a bone object like the handle of a staff and a leaden plate inscribed in characters, apparently of the thirteenth century, with the words (on one side of the plate) **HIC REQUIESCIT WILLIAMUS SENEX FELICIS MEMORIE**, and (on the other side) **PRIMUS EPISCOPUS**. The plate and the bone object are now in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland. The bones of the first bishop and the stone cist were carted away with the rubbish when the cathedral was reseated in 1856.<sup>1</sup>

The Annals of Iceland give the year 1168 as the year of his death,<sup>2</sup> which, if we are to believe the statement referred to above, would make his consecration in 1102.<sup>3</sup>

The first recorded (for it would seem that there were earlier bishops of this succession) bishop of the York succession was

**RALPH** (Radulphus). Consecrated at York on 3 March, 1072-3, by Thomas, archbishop of York, assisted by Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, and Peter, bishop of Lichfield (or Chester). From a letter of Archbishop Thomas to Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, we learn that Earl Paul had sent a clerk from Orkney to Thomas with letters signifying that he (the earl) had granted the bishopric in the parts of the Orkneys to that clerk, and begging 'according to the custom of his predecessors' that he, the clerk, might be consecrated by Thomas. Thomas

<sup>1</sup> Anderson's *Orkneyinga Saga*, p. lxxiv, and *Catalogue of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland*, pp. 295-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Obiit Vilhelmus Senex, Orcadum Episcopus (Script. Rer. Dan. iii. 62).*

<sup>3</sup> On the epithet 'senex,' Munch remarks that the Norwegians use the phrase 'the old' as equal to 'senior' to distinguish two persons of the same name, and that possibly it may be so used with reference to William I. to distinguish him from William II. (*Bannatyne Misc.*, iii. 184). With regard to the length of his episcopate Munch suggests that there may be an error of the scribe: but we should resort to such an explanation only under the pressure of absolute necessity.

further begs that Lanfranc would direct two of his suffragans to assist him in the consecration, and proposes that the consecration should take place at York on 5 Non. Martii (3 March). It has been assumed that the proposed date was the actual date of the consecration. Lanfranc in response writes to Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, and Peter, bishop of Chester (or Lichfield) to assist in the consecration.<sup>1</sup>

It would seem, if we may trust the statement which is alleged to have been made by Earl Paul, that Ralph was not the first bishop consecrated for the Orkneys by the archbishops of York.

The second recorded bishop of the York succession was **ROGER**, of Whitby. Consecrated by Archbishop Gerard, of York (1101-8) (*Historians of York*, ii. 367).

It would seem that it was with reference to Roger that Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury wrote to Earl Haco, son of Paul, that he hoped he and his people would earnestly follow the preaching and teaching of their bishop from whom he had gladly learned that the earl had received the word of God (*Anselmi Opera*, edit. Gerberon, p. 448.)

**RALPH NOWELL** (Novellus), a priest of York. Consecrated by Thomas, archbishop of York, 1109-14 (Hugo Cantor, *Historians of York*, ii. 127; T. Stubs, *ib.* 372).

A letter of Pope Honorius II. (*Monasticum Anglicanum*, vi. 1186) is of historical importance; for it states that another bishop had been intruded into the place of Ralph. The reference seems, with little reason for doubt, to refer to William the Old. Honorius II. was pope from 1124 to 1130.

There is no evidence that Ralph Nowell was ever in Orkney, and we have evidence that he performed episcopal acts for the archbishop of York and the bishop of Durham. It was this Ralph that was the bishop of Orkney who was present on the side of the English at the battle of the Standard at Northallerton (22 Aug. 1138), exhorted the troops in the name of Archbishop Thurstan, and before they went into battle absolved from all their sins those who might fall in the engagement

<sup>1</sup>The letters of Thomas and Lanfranc are printed in Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 362.

(Hoveden, i. 193). Ralph Nowell was the last bishop of Orkney of the York succession.

We now return to the succession of bishops under the archbishop of Nidaros (Trondhjem), for that see had been erected into a metropolitan see in 1152.

From a Bull of Pope Anastatius IV. dated 1 Dec. 1154,<sup>1</sup> we learn that during the pontificate of Eugenius (III.) his legate, Nicholas (Breakspear), cardinal-bishop of Albano (afterwards Adrian IV.), had visited Norway, erected Nidaros (Trondhjem) into a metropolitan see, and had placed under the archbishop, as suffragans, the bishops of various sees, and among them the bishops of the Orkneys and Sudreys. This was, of course, by authority of Pope Eugenius. The visit of the cardinal legate to Norway is to be placed between 20 July and about September, 1152 (see *Chron. of Man*, 172). The Bull of Anastatius IV. is a confirmation of the act of his predecessor, and is, I believe, the earliest surviving instrument in which the erection of the metropolitanship of Nidaros is recounted. These facts will explain why some writers assign this event to 1152 and others to 1154.<sup>2</sup>

Munch has called attention to a list of the bishops of Orkney, written apparently about 1325, and continued by a later hand up to 1380. This list is inscribed 'in a splendid MS. on vellum of the Norwegian Eidsiva Law... preserved in the Arna-Magnæan collection at Copenhagen.' The list<sup>3</sup> runs as follows: 'Vilialmr, Vilialmr, Biarni, Jofreyr, Heinrekr, Petr, Dolgfinnr, Vilialmr, Vilialmr.' The first Vilialmr is, doubtless, William the Old, who was succeeded by

**WILLIAM (II.)**, of whom we know nothing beyond the fact that a second Vilialmr appears in the list above referred to, and that the Icelandic Annals record his death under the year 1188 (*Script. Rer. Dan.* iii. 68).

<sup>1</sup> One copy reads 'secundo Kalend. Decembris' (30 Nov.). See Appendix No. 5, *Chron. of Man*, p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> The Bull of Anastatius is printed with various readings, in Goss's Munch, *Chron. of Man*, pp. 274-83.

<sup>3</sup> The list, with some variants in the orthography, is printed in *Script. Rer. Dan.* vi. 619.

**BJARNI** (Biarno, Biærne). He is stated to have been the son of Kolbein Hruga, who built the castle on the island of Wyre, which lies between Gairsay and Rousay, where the site, a green hillock, 'the stones of the ruin barely showing themselves,' is still to be seen (Craven, *History of the Church in Orkney*, p. 75). The bishop's mother, Herbiorg, was the great-grand-daughter of Earl Paul. Bjarni had repute as a poet; and a reference to the place where his principal poem may be found is given by Munch (*Bannatyne Misc.* iii. 184). He possessed lands in Norway, and a charter, undated, conveying some land near the Dals-fjord, north of Bergen, to the monks of the Benedictine Monastery of St. Michael (commonly called Munkalif), at Bergen, may be found in the Chartulary of that house (p. 83). It was presumably this Bjarni who was the bishop of Orkney that, conjoined with the bishop of Ross, received a mandate from Pope Innocent III. (27 May, 1198) to compel 'J.', bishop of Caithness, to desist from preventing the payment of one penny from every house in the county of Caithness (*Opp. Innocentii III.* Migne's edit. i. 189; summarised in C.P.R. i. 1). In 1202 the same pope commands the bishop of Orkney to receive Lumberd, a layman, the bearer of the papal letter, and cause him to perform his enjoined penance for having stormed the castle of the bishop of Caithness and cut out his tongue (*Opp. Innocent. i. 1062*; summarised in C.P.R. i. 12). The obit of Bjarni is placed by a Necrology<sup>1</sup> (which Munch does not specify more particularly) on 15 Sept. The year of his death is given in the Annals as 1222,<sup>2</sup> but Munch, accepting the statement of the *Saga of King Hacon IV.*, which represents Bjarni as present at the great assembly of notables that met at Bergen, 23 July, 1223, places his death on 15 Sept. 1223 (*Bannatyne Misc.* iii. 184-5).

**JOFREYRR** (Joffeir). The name, according to Munch, is very uncommon, and as there was a Jofreyrr, dean of Tunsberg

<sup>1</sup> I suppose the Necrology referred to that entitled 'Necrologium Islando-Norvegicum Vetus' in *Script. Rer. Dan.* ii. 502-19, where we find 'Sept. 15. Ob. Biarne episcopus'; but note that in the same Necrology we find '20 Oct. Biorno episcopus.'

<sup>2</sup> *Script. Rer. Dan.* iii. 83.

in Norway, present at the assembly of notables above referred to, Munch conjectures that the dean was promoted to the bishopric of Orkney (*ib.*). On 11 May, 1237, Pope Gregory IX. addressed a mandate to Sigurd, archbishop of Trondhjem, to induce his suffragan, the bishop of Orkney, to resign his see on account of paralysis, which had lasted long. His illness, the papal mandate states, had confined him to his bed for many years. If he were unwilling to resign, he was to be provided with a wise and prudent coadjutor (*Diplom. Norveg.* vii. 13; summarised in C.P.R. i. 162). The Icelandic Annals place his death in the year 1248. Munch (*ib.*) would place his death in 1247, and for sufficient reasons: see next entry.

**HENRY** (Heinrekr) I., canon of Orkney; called in the *Saga*, Hervi, probably through a transcriptional error, as Munch thinks. Consecrated early in 1248 (*Hák. Hák. Saga*, cap. 264). He received a papal dispensation for defect of birth, being 'de presbytero genitus et soluta' (*Diplom. Norveg.* i. p. 32). This dispensation (summarised in C.P.R. i. 241) is dated on 9 Dec. 1247, and is declared to be granted at the request of the bishop of Sabina, papal legate, of the archbishop of Trondhjem (Sigurd) and his suffragans, and of the king of Norway. Henry is styled 'canon of Orkney,' and it is stated that he was *concorditer* postulated by the chapter, notwithstanding his illegitimacy.<sup>1</sup>

Henry died in 1269 (Annals of Iceland, *Script. Rer. Dan.* iii. 110).

**PETER.** Consecrated 1270 ('anno 1270, inauguratus ad Orcades Petrus Episcopus,' Annals of Iceland). On 3 Sept. 1278, he granted by letters, dated at Tunsberg, an indulgence of forty days to those of his diocese who contribute to the

<sup>1</sup> This is, I think, the first mention of a canon of Orkney, which points to an organised cathedral constitution at this date. The (cardinal) bishop of Sabina mentioned above appears to have been William of Piedmont, created by Innocent IV. in 1243. He had been legate in Sweden before his elevation to the cardinalate, and returned as legate to the north after his elevation (Ciaconius. ii. col. 16).

restoration of the cathedral of Stavanger, which had been destroyed by fire.<sup>1</sup>

Peter died in 1284 (*Annales Islandici*, ed. 1847, p. 161).<sup>2</sup>

**DOLGFINNR.** Consecrated 1286, by Andrew, bishop of Oslo (*ib.* p. 161). He died 1309 (*ib.* p. 197).

**WILLIAM (III.).** Consecrated in 1310 (*ib.* p. 201). In C.P.R. (ii. 484-5) we find that on 22 Sept. 1326, Pope John XXII. addressed a letter to the bishop of Hamar and the papal nuncios, touching William, bishop of Orkney, who had imprisoned and despoiled Engelbert Liming, canon of Orkney, and had appropriated Peter's Pence to the amount of 100 marks, 50 of which were to be assigned to the bishop of Hamar, and 50 to the archbishop of Trondhjem, for the papal *camera*. The nuncios are ordered to compel the bishop to make restitution of the money, and to make satisfaction to the said canon. If this is not done, the bishop of Orkney is to be summoned before the pope.<sup>3</sup>

The bishop's ill-treatment of Engelbert was an old story, for

<sup>1</sup> I owe this fact to Dr. Anderson's Introduction to the *Orkneyinga Saga* (p. lxxvi). He refers to Keyser, *Den Norske Kirkes Historie*, ii. 210, and Torfaeus, *Hist. Orc.* p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> In *Chronicon de Lanercost* (Maitland Club edit. p. 97), under the year 1275, we read that *William*, bishop of Orkney, tarried for a time (*perhendinavit*) at Hertelpol (? Hartlepool) in England. He is described as 'vir honestus et litterarum amator,' and as relating many marvellous things of the islands subject to Norway. The marvels recorded seem to refer solely to Iceland and its burning mountain, with certain fanciful and superstitious additions. Who was this Bishop William? Is the date 1275 an error? Or is the name 'William' an error? Or is Orkney an error? It seems improbable that York at this date had a titular 'bishop of Orkney,' and the bishop in question seems to be relating things of which he had special knowledge. Peter, bishop of Orkney, in 1274, granted an indulgence of 40 days to persons visiting or aiding the fabric of Lincoln (Wordsworth's *Mediaeval Services*, p. 306). I take it that the William (of Lanercost) is an error for Peter.

<sup>3</sup> We find Engelbert Liming provided by Pope John XXII. to a canonry in Caithness, notwithstanding that he had a canonry and prebend in Orkney. This was on 21 Oct. 1329 (C.P.R. ii. 313).

at the Provincial Synod of Bergen in 1320 the imprisonment of Engelbert, who, it appears, had been sent by the archbishop to make inquiry into the collection of Peter's Pence, was one of the many charges made against William. Details will be found in Anderson's *Introduction to the Orkneyinga Saga*, pp. lxxvi-lxxvii, with a reference to authorities.

It is probably as making towards restitution that William, by a deed dated Bergen, 9 Sept. 1327, mortgages his dues of Shetland to his metropolitan, Eilif, archbishop of Trondhjem, for the payment of 186 marks sterling due to the archbishop for the tithes for six years (*Diplom. Norveg.* vii. 134).

The date of this William's death is unknown.

At this period some confusion has arisen from a failure to perceive that the Great Schism, which began in 1378, produced two sets of bishops of Orkney. Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, together with Germany and England, adhered to Urban VI. and his successors, who came eventually to be recognised in the history of the Roman Church as the 'Popes,' while France, part of Spain, and Scotland adhered to Clement VII. and his successors, who ultimately came to be spoken of as the 'Anti-Popes.' As the bishops of the party of the 'Popes' were not recognised in Scotland<sup>1</sup> it seems best to exhibit them in an Appendix (p. 269).

**WILLIAM (IV.).** The Scandinavian list of bishops of Orkney, already referred to, shows that this William was the immediate successor of William III. I take it he was appointed before the outbreak of the Great Schism; but, so far as I am aware, there is no record evidence as to the date of his appointment. There is an agreement between William, bishop of Orkney, and Hakon Jonsson, dated at Kirkwall, 25 May, 1369 (*Diplom. Norveg.* i. 308). This William may perhaps be William IV.

In the *Icelandic Annals*, under the year 1382, we read 'Then we heard the mournful tidings that Bishop William

<sup>1</sup> [The diocese of Orkney having been at that time politically and ecclesiastically part of Norway, the bishops in actual possession were those in communion with the Roman popes. For this I have the authority of the learned Secretary of the Viking Club].

was slain in the Orkneys' (*Orkneyinga Saga*, edit. Anderson, p. lxxviii).

**ROBERT SINCLAIR** (de Sancto Claro), dean of Moray, bachelor in Laws, is spoken of as elect on 28 Nov. 1383, when Clement VII. (anti-pope) made provision to Walter Trayl, doctor of Civil and Canon Law, and papal chaplain, of a canonry and the deanery of Moray at their voidance on the consecration of Robert de Sancto Claro, bishop elect of Orkney (C.P.R. Pet. i. 566). Eubel gives the date of Robert's appointment from the Avignon Regesta as 27 Jan. 1383-4. Clement VII. grants petitions of Robert, bishop of Orkney, on 31 May, 1390 (C.P.R. Pet. i. 574). He was translated to Dunkeld before March, 1391, for Clement VII., dealing with a petition of Archibald, earl of Douglas, on 21 March, 1390-1, granted to the earl's kinsman (named) the deanery of Moray, void by the consecration of Robert de Sancto Claro translated from Orkney to Dunkeld (C.P.R. Pet. i. 575). His translation is given by Eubel as 1 Feb. 1390-1.

At this point we have many years without authentic record of an appointment by the anti-popes. It is possible that another William should be placed here. But the only authority which I know for such a bishop is Spottiswoode (i. 251) who says 'William. This bishop is mentioned as living in the time of Robert III.' But on such evidence one cannot be willing to give him a place in our list. Keith, beside referring to Spottiswoode, refers to what he calls *Appendix to Spottiswoode*, for the date 1390 of this William. The book he refers to is doubtless the small quarto volume of 78 pages (London, 1677), entitled *An Appendix to the History of the Church of Scotland, containing the succession of the Archbishops and Bishops*. It is a poor performance. The date 1390 does not hang with the dates given above.

Some of the interval may be accounted for by transactions connected with the provision by Benedict XIII. (anti-pope) of **ALEXANDER VAUS**, who did not get himself consecrated within the canonical period (C.P.R. vii. 185). He was appointed to Caithness, 4 May, 1414: see Caithness.

[His appointment to Orkney must have been before 12 Feb. 1407-8, on which day he was granted the faculty to be ordained by any Catholic bishop (*Reg. Avin.* 330, 376). On 4 May,

1414, the date of his appointment to Caithness, he was granted the administration of the bishopric of Orkney for two years, the see being vacant by the translation of Robert to Dunkeld ; that is, ever since 1 Feb. 1390-1 (E. ; *Reg. Avin.* 342, 649).]

[**WILLIAM STEPHEN**, canon of Moray, bachelor in Decrees, was provided by Benedict XIII., 13 Nov. 1415 ; the grant of administration to Alexander being revoked (E.). For further notices of him see *Addenda*. In 1419 he was translated to Dunblane, which see.]

**THOMAS DE TULLOCH** (Tulach), presbyter of the diocese of Brechin. On 19 Aug. 1418, he was provided by Martin V. (B. ; E. 9 Aug., a misprint). On 17 June, 1420, in the church of Vestenskov in Laland he swore fealty to Eric, king of Norway, and his successors, and received a commission from the king to administer the crown lands of Orkney (see Anderson's *Introduction to the Orkneyinga Saga*, pp. lxxviii, lxxix). Other events in his life will be found in the work just cited and Tytler's *History of Scotland* (iv. 183-4, 2nd edit.). On 23 March, 1433, Thomas, bishop of Orkney, paid at Rome 50 gold florins (B.). What could this payment be for ? In 1441 (4 Nov.) he received from Henry VI. of England a safe-conduct for himself and a retinue of eight persons to proceed from Flanders to Scotland and thence through England to Rome (B.C. iv. No. 1150). On 12 July, 1455, he was at Kirkwall and executed a deed with the consent of his chapter (*Bannatyne Misc.* iii. 192-3).

The last reference shows that there must be an error in Hay's statement that there was a William, bishop of Orkney (see Keith), in 1448, unless indeed he was a coadjutor. Eubel says Thomas resigned.

**WILLIAM DE TULLOCH** (Tullos), canon of Orkney. He was bishop of Orkney when in 1461 (28 June) he tendered his allegiance to the king of Denmark (*Diplom. Norveg.* v. 605). He was at the Apostolic See [and was papally provided to the bishopric] 11 Dec. 1461 (E.). On 17 Aug. 1472, the Bull of Sixtus IV. placed Orkney under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of St. Andrews. William was Privy Seal [25 June, 1470 (R.M.S. ii. 992) and onwards], and is a very frequent witness of deeds under the Great Seal (see R.M.S. ii.). He was one of the ambassadors (1468) for negotiating the marriage of

James III. with Margaret, daughter of Christiern I. of Denmark. For a grant made to him by the king of Denmark of 'all the scattis, rentis, and dewiteis' that pertained to the king from the kirk lands of Orkney, see R.S.S. i. 1031. [He was tacksman of Orkney and Zetland from 27 Aug. 1472 to 28 July, 1478 (E.R. vol. viii.).] The bishop of Orkney (unnamed) was in Parliament 1 July, 1476 (A.P. ii. 113). He is found in his diocese at Kirkwall 20 March, 1465-6, and at Tyngwell in Shetland 3 June, 1467 (*Spalding Misc.* v. 392-4). He was translated to Moray 12 Feb. 1476-7 (E.).

Arms: on a fess between three cross crosslets as many stars (Macdonald, *Armorial Seals*, No. 2789).

**ANDREW**, canon of Orkney.<sup>1</sup> He is called in the Vatican documents Andreas Pictoris (? Painter, Panter). Provided 12 Feb. 1476-7 (E.). On 31 March, 1477 (the same day on which William Tulloch made his payments on his translation to Moray), Andrew paid at Rome 107 gold florins, 7 shillings and 7 pence (B.). On 20 Feb. 1477-8 Andrew witnessed a charter of James III. (A.P. ii. 193).

James III., 28 April, 1478, grants an assedation to Andrew of the crown lands of Orkney and Shetland, and the keepership of the castle of Kirkwall (the latter is afterwards transferred to Henry, Lord Sinclair) with various profits and privileges, on the same terms as those on which William his predecessor had enjoyed them (R.M.S. ii. 1376). James IV., 10 Oct. 1490, refers gratefully to the services which Andrew had rendered to his father and mother, and grants the church lands in Orkney in free regality (*ib.* 1974); which grant was confirmed 30 Jan. 1501-2 (*ib.* 2620): see also *ib.* ii. 2414. Andrew, bishop of Orkney, is a witness to Great Seal charters in 1479 and onwards at intervals to 1492.

As late in his episcopate as 13 March, 1501-2, James IV. confirms his grant of the free regality, and charges Henry, Lord Sinclair, to make no impediment to Andrew's using the said regality and all freedoms pertaining thereto (R.S.S. i. 787). Again, at 26 June, 1502, there is evidence that the bishop's rights have been seriously interfered with (see below). A

<sup>1</sup>[Also vicar of Kirkbean (Roman Transcripts, P.R.O.)]

precept for a further charter of gift of the church lands, in free barony, to Andrew and his successors, is dated 24 Nov. 1503 (*ib.* 1000).

The bishop of Orkney is in Parliament 18 May, 1491 (A.P. ii. 228). Andrew, bishop of Orkney, is at Edinburgh 24 July, 1491 (R.G. 479). In his old age he obtained the aid of a coadjutor. He was alive at least as late as Nov. 1503: see next entry.

**EDWARD STEWART** was nominated as 'coadjutor and successor' to Andrew, 8 April, 1498 (Balfour, *Odal Rights*, p. 42), and was appointed by the pope, Alexander VI., by Bulls dated 10 July, 1500.<sup>1</sup> On 19 Sept. of the same year Edward, 'elect of Orkney,' paid, by the hands of another, 200 gold florins (B.).

In 1502 (26 June) a royal letter is addressed to the lawman of Orkney discharging William Sinclair and those who pertained to him from intromitting with the lands and tithes belonging to Andrew, bishop of Orkney, and Edward, coadjutor and successor to him (R.S.S. i. 848).

In Nov. 1503, we find Andrew, 'old bischop' of Orkney, and Edward, his coadjutor (*Acta Dom. Conc.* xv. 36). Edward, bishop of Orkney, occurs on 10 Oct. 1509, in the Council Baillie and Guild Court Register of Aberdeen. MS. note by Lord Woodhouslee in a quarto copy of Keith, in the possession of Bishop Dowden. Edward, bishop of Orkney, is in Parliament on 26 Nov. 1513 (A.P. ii. 281).

In Stewart's old age he, in turn, obtained a coadjutor. On 13 Dec. 1523, the duke of Albany wrote from Stirling to Pope Clement VII., representing that Edward was enfeebled by old age, gout, and other infirmities, and that he (Edward) desired a coadjutor; that Albany had nominated, and now commends, John Beynstoun, the bishop's 'brother,' and prays the pope to appoint him, reserving to Edward all the fruits of the see for his life, or that part of the fruits which he desired to retain, as expressed in Edward's letter which Albany transmitted to the pope (T. No. 943). He bequeathed lands for the erection of chaplainries for the saying of masses for his own soul and that of Beynstoun, and the chaplainries were erected

<sup>1</sup>[Andrew was then in his eightieth year, according to the Bull.]

10 April, 1528 (*Laing Charters*, No. 368), before which date he had died.

**JOHN BEYNSTOUN** (Benstoun, Beinston, Benston).

On 24 April,<sup>1</sup> 1524, the pope deputed as coadjutor, 'perpetual and irrevocable' to Edward, bishop of Orkney, with Edward's consent, John Benston, so that, on the resignation or death of Edward, John was provided to the see, with retention of benefices, if he had any. *Redditus*, 200 (*sic*) florins; *Taxa*, 500 (*sic*) florins (*Barberini*). It would seem that the figures assigned to the taxa and redditus should be transposed, for on 27 May, 1524, John Benston paid by his proctor 200 gold florins (*Obligaz.*; B.).

Beynstoun probably died in 1526,<sup>2</sup> for

**ROBERT MAXWELL**, doctor in Arts, chancellor of Moray (*Acta Dom. Conc.* xxxvii. 179) was by the pope provided to Orkney on 9 April, 1526. The see is said, in the consistorial entry, to be void by the death of John Beinston. Maxwell was dispensed to retain all his benefices, but there was a reservation to John Torothon (Thornton) of a pension of £20 Scots from the fruits of the see, and another pension of 100 marks Scots to Peter Ustron from the fruits of the provostry of the collegiate church of Dumbarton, valued at 150 ducats, which provostry Robert held. *Taxa*, 200 florins. On 26 April, John Thornton, as proctor for Robert Maxwell, 'elect of Orkney,' offers 200 gold florins. *Obligaz.* (B. 151).

He was 'postulate' 13 Feb. 1525-6 (*Acta Dom. Conc.* xxxv. 203), 'elect' in Parliament 25 June, 1526 (A.P. ii. 307).

He died in the spring of 1541 (Craven, 145), which seems probable: see next entry.

The middle and the largest of the three bells of the cathedral bears the legend: 'Made by Robbert Maxull Bisshop of Orkney the year of God M.D. XXVIII. The —— year of

<sup>1</sup> [E. says 27 April.]

<sup>2</sup> John was dead before 6 July, 1526 (Inst. in Register House). [Both Edward and John were dead before 4 June, 1526; the former was buried in St. Andrews parish church, the latter in the college of St. Salvator in that city (*Hist. MS. Com. Rep.* v. 639), where Edward is, by mistake, called bishop of Caithness.]

the reign of King James the V. Robert Borthwick made me in the Castel of Edinburgh' (Craven, 141).<sup>1</sup>

**ROBERT REID**, abbot of Kinloss.

On 14 April, 1541, the see was void, and Robert, abbot of Kinloss, had a gift of the temporality during the vacancy (R.S.S. xiv. 85).

The king's letter presenting Reid to the pope for appointment is dated Stirling, 5 April, 1541. The king asks for a pension from the revenues of the see for John Stewart about seven years old, 'a nobis naturaliter suscepto.' He also begs that Robert might be wholly released from the obligation to wear the Cistercian habit, and allowed to wear the episcopal habit so that he might more conveniently attend at court, and visit the islanders, whom he describes as living 'fere sub polo' (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* ii. 112-3).

On 20 July, 1541, at the intreaty of the king of Scots, the pope provides Reid to the church of Orkney, void by the death of Robert Maxwell, with retention of the monastery of Kinloss and his other benefices and pensions, and with the right of *regressus*. The pension to John Thornton (see above) is cancelled, but a like pension of £20 Scots is assigned to James Thornton, clerk, of the diocese of St. Andrews. And another pension is assigned to John Stewart, clerk, natural son of the said king, with dispensations for defect of age and birth, since James Thornton and John Stewart were respectively fourteen and seven years of age. *Taxa*, 200 florins (*Barberini*). On 3 Sept. 1541, James Salmond paid on behalf of Robert elect of Orkney, 200 gold florins (*Obligaz.*; B. i. 151-2).

Reid was consecrated in the place of the Minor Friars at Edinburgh on the first Sunday in Advent, 27 Nov. 1541 (Smyth's *Chronicle*, printed in Stuart's *Records of Kinloss*, p. 11).

Reid, on visiting Orkney, found the original constitution of the cathedral in manuscript so injured by damp (*propter aquositatem terre*) that its full sense could not be discovered. He with the chapter framed a new constitution on 28 Oct.

<sup>1</sup> [Two other bells bearing Bishop Maxwell's name are there described.]

1544. Its details will be found in its confirmation by the queen, 30 April, 1545 (R.M.S. iii. 3102).

Reid succeeded Mylne (abbot of Cambuskenneth, first president) as president of the Court of Session.<sup>1</sup>

Reid died at Dieppe, 6 Sept. 1558, not without suspicion of poison (Lesley, *De reb. gest.* 538-9; and in Bannatyne Club edit. 267), and was buried in the chapel of St. Andrew, *dite des Ecossais*, in the church of St. James, Dieppe.

For the important part played by this eminent prelate in public affairs, his doings on embassies to the king of England and the king of France, his position as a member, and, eventually, as president of the College of Justice, the reader is referred to the general histories of Scotland, and, more particularly, to the admirable account (where much detailed information will be found) in Craven's *History of the Church in Orkney to 1558* (4to, Kirkwall, 1901), pp. 149-74. Here it is not necessary to do more than notice in the briefest way a few particulars. Robert Reid was the son of John Reid of Aikenhead (who was slain at the battle of Flodden), by Besseta Schanwell, sister of John, abbot of Cupar, and of Robert Schanwell, vicar of Kirkcaldy (Ferrerius). He entered the college of St. Salvator, St. Andrews, in 1511, and took his M.A. in 1515. He then continued his studies at the university of Paris (Brunton and Haig, *Senators of the College of Justice*, 14-15). He held the vicarages of Gartly, Bruntkirk,<sup>2</sup> and Kirkcaldy. He was subdean and official of Moray. He was selected by Abbot Chrystal of Kinloss as his successor in 1526. Yet he does not seem to have received the Cistercian habit till the translation of St. Benedict (i.e. 11 July, 1529) (Smyth's *Chronicle*). [His papal provision as successor to Abbot Thomas was dated 4 July, 1528 (B.).] In 1530 he was

<sup>1</sup>[The exact date is unknown. Mylne's last appearance in the sederunts is 9 June, 1548 (*Acta Dom. Concilii et Sessionis*, xxv. 17). Reid appears at the head of the list in the sederunt of 27 July (*ib.* 28), and thereafter at every sitting which he attended. On 18 Jan. 1548-9, 'Presidens' is on the sederunt (*ib.* 62); and on 19 Feb. 'Orchaden. presidens' (*ib.* 107).]

<sup>2</sup>[That is, Drumdelgie in Strathbogie, now annexed partly to Glass, partly to Cairnie (*Ant. Aberd.* ii. 180, 187).]

given the priory of Beauly *in commendam*. In addition to Craven's work the reader may consult John Stuart's *Records of the Monastery of Kinloss* (where is printed the notice of Reid's life by Ferrerius, a monk of Kinloss), and Batten's *Charters of the Priory of Beauly*, 214-32.

On 6 April, 1553, his nephew, Walter Reid, was admitted abbot of Kinloss, and on 16 April received the benediction from his uncle, the bishop, in the presence of some of the nobles. (*Chronicle of John Smyth, monk of Kinloss*, printed in Stuart's *Records*, 12.) Yet it is to be noted that on the bishop's book stamp of 1558 he is styled 'Episcopus Orchadensis et Abbas a Kynloss.' Walter signed the first Covenant in 1560, and married (see Stuart's *Records*, lvi.).

Bishop Reid's seal is described by Macdonald (*Armorial Seals*, Nos. 2266, 2267, 2268). The shield bore a stag head erased.

**ADAM BOTHWELL**, canon of Glasgow.

Adam Bothwell was the son of Francis Bothwell, burgess of Edinburgh, who occupied many posts of civic dignity, including that of provost, and was one of the original fifteen who formed the College of Justice when founded by James V. in 1532. Adam's mother was Katherine Bellenden, by whom Francis had two children, Adam, the future bishop, and Janet, who became the wife of Sir Archibald Napier of Merchiston, and mother of John Napier, the inventor of logarithms. (See Mark Napier's valuable note in Spottiswoode's *History*, ii. 71-80, on Bishop Adam Bothwell.) Adam succeeded his brother (half-brother ?) as rector of Ashkirk in 1552.

The following entry is found in *Barberini* (B.), dated 24 July, 1559: 'Sermoneta proposuit ecclesiam Orchaden. in favorem D. Adam ad supplicationem Regis et Reginae Angliae (*sic*) cum assignatione pensionis 160 marcharum, quae est quinta pars fructuum.' On 2 August, 1559, the pope (Paul IV.) appointed to Orkney, void by the death of Robert, Adam Bothwell, canon of Glasgow, reserving the pensions following, namely, one of 300 marks, usual money of the kingdom of Scotland, to Archibald Rutheuin (Ruthven), scholar, as soon as he has received the clerical character, and another of 160 marks to Adam Murrye, clerk. Adam Bothwell is to resign the canonry and prebend of Glasgow. *Taxa*, 200 florins (*Barberini*; B. 152). He was admitted to the

temporality 14 Oct. 1559 (R.S.S. xxx. 13). He was consecrated before 30 June, 1559 (R.M.S. iv. 1668).<sup>1</sup> The great expenses incurred in impetrating and publishing the Bulls are referred to in the last cited record.

Bothwell died 23 August, 1593, and was buried in the nave of Holyrood. Keith says he died in his seventy-second year, but the epitaph says sixty-seventh year, of his age.<sup>2</sup> The epitaph is printed in Monteith's *Theatre of Mortality* and in Napier's notes to Spottiswoode (ii. 79).

He joined the Reformers. He [in 1568] exchanged the temporality of the see for the abbey of Holyrood with Lord Robert Stewart (afterwards earl of Orkney, a bastard son of James V.); and this was ratified under the Great Seal 25 Sept. 1569 (Laing's *Knox*, i. 555 n.). After this the bishop signs himself as 'Bischop of Orkney, Commendatair of Halyrudhous.'

He officiated at the ceremony of marriage, after the manner of the Reformed Church, between Queen Mary and Bothwell, duke of Orkney, in the palace of Holyrood, 15 May, 1567 (Spottiswoode, ii. 54).

At the coronation of the infant James VI. at Stirling, 29 July, 1567, Adam Bothwell, together with the superintendents of Lothian and Angus, set the crown on the king's head (Calderwood, ii. 384), and the bishop appears to have performed the anointing (P.C.R. i. 542).

A summary of his extraordinary adventures at the end of August, 1567, in pursuit of the duke of Orkney, will be found in Mark Napier's note to Spottiswoode (ii. 74-75).

In the Assembly at Edinburgh, 25 Dec. 1567, he was delated for various offences, among them his having solemnised the marriage of the queen with 'the devorct adulterer,' and the Assembly 'deprives him fra all function of the ministerie.'

<sup>1</sup> [This charter is dated 30 June, 1560, second year of his consecration. But there are two deeds in the Register House (Nos. 1819 and 1998 of Cal.), both dated 30 June, 1560, *first* year of his consecration, which agrees better with the date of his admission to the temporality.]

<sup>2</sup> [He can hardly have been so old as sixty-six; his parents were not married before 1529 (*Scots Peerage*, iv. 427).]

On 10 July, 1568, he is restored by the Assembly on the condition that he was 'on some Sonday quhen he best may for the waikness of his body, to mak an sermoun in the kirk of Holie-ruidhouse, and in the end thereof to confess his offence in marieing the queene with the erle of Bothwell, and desire the Kirk thair present for the time to forgive him his offence and sclander given be him in doing the fornamit act ; the quhilk he promisit to do ' (Spottiswoode, ii. 75).

Some time before 1571 he married a niece of the Regent Mar ;<sup>1</sup> his eldest son was John Bothwell, who succeeded his father both on the bench and in his abbacy. He was created Lord Holyroodhouse in 1607 (Mark Napier, *l.c.*).

[Arms : on a chevron, between three trefoils slipped, a star.  
Motto, *Obdurandum adversus urgenteria.* ]

## Appendix

*Notices of the Bishops of Orkney appointed during the Great Schism by those Bishops of Rome who afterwards came to be designated 'Popes,' as distinguished from those who came to be designated 'Anti-Popes.'*<sup>2</sup>

**JOHN**, rector of Pentlar<sup>3</sup> in the diocese of Orkney. Elected by the chapter on the death of William (IV.). But Urban VI. declared that he had reserved the see, declared the election null, and himself provided John on 10 Feb. 1383-4. Urban died before the Bulls of provision had been made out ; and it is not till 9 Nov. 1389 that John receives a mandate from Boniface IX. to administer the see. Concurrent letters to the archbishop of Trondhjem and to 'the city and diocese of Orkney' (C.P.R. iv. 336). It is plain that John was much absent from his

<sup>1</sup> [Viz. Janet, daughter of John Murray of Polmaise, by Janet, daughter of John, fifth Lord Erskine (*Scots Peerage*, iv. 430 and v. 612).]

<sup>2</sup> [See footnote p. 259.]

<sup>3</sup> [Perhaps Fetlar, as the index to C.P.R. suggests.]

diocese, if he ever went there (*ib.* 385). He was translated to Greenland by Boniface IX., 9 March, 1393-4 (*ib.* 481).

**HENRY**, bishop of Greenland, translated to Orkney on the same day as John was translated to Greenland. He was dead before Aug. 1396: see next entry.

**JOHN PAK**, or **COLCHESTER**, a monk of Colchester, Order of St. Benedict, papal chaplain, in priest's orders, was provided to the see, void by the death of Henry, by Boniface IX. on 21 Aug. 1396. Concurrent letters to the archbishop of Trondhjem, and to Margaret, queen of Norway (C.P.R. iv. 538): so also Eubel.

There was a 'Johannes Anglus,' bishop of Orkney, who appears in the Union Treaty of Calmar in 1397.

Through a curious error 'Patrick' is sometimes inserted here. The only authority for this Patrick is an instrument in an imperfect condition now in H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh. The document (dated 10 Nov. 1422) is an attestation by the lawman of Orkney and two canons of the cathedral. It contains a reference to 'reverendo in Cristo pa' [here the parchment is torn away] '... lchester.' The syllable 'pa' is obviously the beginning of 'patri,' and 'lchester' is probably the end of Colchester. The deed is printed in *Spalding Misc.* v. 258.

**THOMAS DE TULLOCH** (Tulach), presbyter of the diocese of Brechin. Appointed by Martin V., 9 Aug. 1418, on the death of John (E.). On the acceptance of the 'popes' by Scotland, Tulloch takes his place in the recognised succession: see p. 261.

## The Bishops of the Isles

VARIOUS causes have contributed to make the chronology of the episcopal succession of the Sudreys of peculiar difficulty. It is seen in the case of Orkney that York, claiming, as it did, jurisdiction over the whole of Scotland, kept up for a time a succession of bishops. There is evidence that something akin is true also of the Sudreys. So that at times we find two contemporary bishops of Sodor, one owning the jurisdiction of Trondhjem, and the other that of York. For the early period I have been largely guided in the following list by the labours of Bishop Stubbs (*Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, 2nd edit. Appendix vi.). His list Bishop Stubbs declares to be only provisional. He considers that the confusion may be in a large measure accounted for 'by the competing claims of aspirants to titles which were of little value, and which in the cases of the poor Irish and Scottish sees were looked on, like titles *in partibus*, merely as qualifications for the office of Suffragan.'

For the earlier part of the history of the episcopate of the Isles our chief source of information is the document commonly known as the *Chronicle of Man*. This document has come down to us in the unique text of a MS. (*Julius*, A. vii.) preserved in the Cottonian collection in the British Museum. The edition referred to in the following pages is that of Professor P. A. Munch, of the University of Christiania, as edited for the Manx Society by Dr. Goss (2 vols., Douglas, Isle of Man: 1874).<sup>1</sup> Munch has added much information from Norse and Icelandic records which help to elucidate and supplement the text of the

<sup>1</sup>The pagination runs continuously through the two volumes, so that there is no need to cite the number of the volume.

*Chronicle of Man.* The *Chronicle* is in the earlier part written in a hand of the thirteenth century, is continued in later hands to the year 1376, as regards the bishops.

Although the earliest notices in the *Chronicle* concern a slightly earlier time than that which comes within the scope of this work, it seems well to exhibit them here. The *Chronicle* relates that from the time of St. Patrick, who first preached the catholic faith to the inhabitants of Man, there were many bishops, but, as nothing is known as to who or what manner of men they were, it must suffice to begin with

**ROOLWER.** This name is an attempt to represent the Norse name 'Hrólfr' (Munch's note, p. 235).

Roolwer was bishop 'before the time when Godred Crouan began to reign' (*Chr. Mn.* 112). The date of Godred Crouan's conquest of Man is to be assigned to 1079 or 1080 (Munch, 145). Nothing more is known of Roolwer. Godred Crouan died in 1095 (Munch, 145).

**WILLIAM.** Nothing more known of him (*Chr. Mn.* 114).

**HAMOND**, son of Iole, a Manxman' (*ib.*). It is not unnatural that Hamond, of the *Chronicle*, should be identified with **WIMUND** (the two names not being very dissimilar in sound),<sup>1</sup> who afterwards was a pretender to the Scottish throne, and is said to have been consecrated by Thomas, archbishop of York. The probabilities seem to point to Wimund or Aumond Mac Aulay (compare 'son of Iole' and 'Mac Aulay') being the immediate successor of William. Thomas was archbishop of York between 27 June, 1109, and 24 Feb. 1114. But perhaps 'Thurstan' should be read for 'Thomas': see below.

The story of this extraordinary man is related by William of Newburgh (lib. i. cap. 24), and may be found told very fully in Sir David Dalrymple's *Annals* (edit. 1819, vol. i. pp. 100-3). In 1151 Wimund was seized by his people, castrated, and deprived of both eyes. Wimund had been a monk of Savigny, and of its daughter house, Furness, in Lancashire. As Furness was not founded till 1127, one is led to conjecture that the name Thomas (archbishop of York) should be read Thurstan, archbishop of York from 19 Oct. 1119 to 5 Feb. 1140. Fordun

<sup>1</sup> *Mannicus genere*: but William of Newburgh, speaking of Wimund, says he was 'obscurissimo in Anglia loco natus.'

(*Gesta Annalia*, i. ; see Sc. viii. 2) calls the pretender Malcolm Macheth. The best attempt to reconcile difficulties and give a connected history of this man will be found in W. F. Skene's *Notes and Illustrations to Fordun* (vol. ii. 428-30 in the edit. in the series *Historians of Scotland*). Skene would place his mutilation after 1157. If this be true, he must have been deprived, or have resigned his bishopric. See next entry, 'John.' He is alluded to as 'quidam pseudo-episcopus' in Baldred's (Aelred's) *Lament* (Fordun, v. 41, Skene's edit. ; see Sc. v. 51).

Wimund died in the monastery of Byland in Yorkshire.

**JOHN**, a monk of Savigny, or of Seez in Normandy. He was consecrated by Henry Murdac, archbishop of York from 7 Dec. 1147 to 14 Oct. 1153 (*Hist. Ebor.* ; MS. Cotton, Cleopatra, C. 4 ; M. Paris, ii. 188 [where his appointment is dated 1151] ; R. de Monte, A.D. 1151).

This bishop does not appear in the list of *Chronicle of Man*. He may have been only titular, doing episcopal duties for Murdac.

**GAMALIEL** ('Anglicus genere' *Chr. Mn.* 114), consecrated by Roger, archbishop of York between 1154 and 1161 (Stubbs, *Reg. Sac. Angl.* p. 210). He was buried at Peterborough (*Chr. Mn.* 114). At Peterborough his obit was kept on 13 July (*Monast. Angl.* i. 362).

**RAGNALD** (Reginald, Ronald), a Norwegian (*Chr. Mn.*). In the *Annals of Iceland* a bishop Reinard, corrupted in some of the MSS. into Nemar (Munch, 236), dies in 1170. He is the first bishop mentioned in the *Annals*, which go on to state that after the death of Reinard there was no bishop for forty years. This statement must, I think, be interpreted to mean that none was recognised as in subjection to Trondhjem, for in the *Chronicle of Man* we have

**CHRISTIAN** (Christin), 'Archadiensis' (now generally supposed to be for 'Ergadiensis,' of Argyll ; but some would take it to be a corruption for 'Orchadiensis' or 'Orchadensis,' of Orkney. Bishop Stubbs thinks it possible that he may be the bishop of Whithern of the same name. Our only authority for his being a bishop of the Isles is *Chronicle of Man*. He was buried in the monastery of Benchor (Bangor in Ulster).

**MICHAEL**, a Manxman ; a monk.

He died at a good old age, and was buried at Fountains (in Yorkshire) (*Chr. Mn.*). In another place *Chronicle of Man* puts his death in 1193 according to Munch's corrected dates, but the text reads 1203.<sup>1</sup>

**NICHOLAS I.** It seems certain, or all but certain, that there were two successive bishops bearing the name of Nicholas. The *Chronicle of Man*, indeed, mentions only one bishop of that name ; but the passages that will afterwards be cited from Theiner and the *Calendars of Papal Registers* leave no reasonable grounds for doubt that the facts will be best accounted for by supposing that there were two.

I take the bishop whom I call 'Nicholas I.' to be the bishop recorded in the *Chronicle* as 'Nicholas, Erchadiensis genere' (Nicholas, an Argyll man by race), of whom nothing more is said in the list of bishops in the *Chronicle* (116) than that he was buried in the monastery of Benchor. In the earlier part of the *Chronicle* (80), which deals with civil history, we are told that Michael died in 1193 (or in 1203 ; see Michael, above) 'to whom Nicholas succeeded in the episcopate.' Again (82) under the year 1217 'Nicholas, bishop of the Isles, died and was buried in Ulster in the house of Benchor.'

The *Annals of Iceland* tell of a bishop, Koli by name, consecrated apparently in 1210. Munch contends (probably correctly) that Koli is an abbreviated form of Nicholas, Colas or Claus being not infrequently used for Nicholas.

**NICHOLAS II.** Consecrated (?) 1217, or soon after.

On 9 Nov. 1219 Honorius III. sent a mandate to the bishop of Carlisle and Pandulph, elect of Norwich, recounting that 'on the death of N. of good memory,' the monks of Furness, 'to whom pertained the election of the bishop of the Isles,' had convened and unanimously elected a bishop, had sent the decree of the election to the archbishop of Dublin, 'metropolitan of that place,' and besought him to confirm the election and consecrate the elect ; that the archbishop had confirmed the election, consecrated the elect, and sent letters to the abbots, priors, archdeacons, and all the clergy of the diocese of the Isles, commanding

<sup>1</sup>On the errors of the chronology of the *Chronicle* see Munch's Notes, p. 123, and Appendix No. 58.

them to receive him as their bishop. But the prince of that land and others of the diocese of the Isles had forbidden the clergy to submit to the bishop. These facts the pope had learned from the bishop in person ; and he commands the bishop of Carlisle and Pandulph to warn the prince and others to desist from their course of conduct (T. No. 31). In this letter there is no indication of the name of the new bishop of the Isles. But on the 15 May, 1224, Honorius writes to the archbishop of York commanding him to examine and, if expedient, to grant the prayer of 'N. bishop of Man and the Isles' to have licence to resign his see, from which he has long been exiled by the lord of the land and others (C.P.R. i. 97). The letter of 9 Nov. 1219, as regards date, would well fall in with the date (1217) of the death of Nicholas I. as given in the *Chronicle of Man*.

But on 5 Aug. 1226, we find 'Nicholas quondam Manniae et Insularum Episcopus' witnessing a charter relating to Hexham (*Priory of Hexham*, ii. 94, Surtees Society), and also on 20 Aug. in the same year witnessing another charter (*Monasticon*, iv. 309). These show that the prayer of the bishop of the Isles for release from his episcopal charge was granted.

In illustration of the above it may be mentioned that Dr. Oliver (*Monumenta*, ii. 38) prints a receipt (for certain episcopal vestments, etc.) given by Nicholas, bishop of the Isles, on his return from the General Council (? the Fourth Lateran, 1215) to Nicholas, abbot of Furness, who had custody of them during the absence of the bishop. Here then we find two Nicholases, one a bishop of the Isles and the other the abbot of Furness.

It was, I take it, this abbot of Furness, known as Nicholas of Melsa, or Meaux, who afterwards became bishop of the Isles, and whom I have designated Nicholas II. I have to acknowledge my obligations in this inquiry to the notes of Dr. Goss added to those of Munch in *Chr. of Man* (241-2). It is with diffidence that I differ from Bishop Stubbs who supposes that the letter in Theiner (No. 31) has reference to a later bishop than Nicholas ; but the evidence seems to me to be very clearly in favour of the view I have put forward.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One of these two bishops named Nicholas confirmed to 'God, S. Ninian, and Paul, prior and the canons of the Premonstratensian

**REGINALD** (Ronald), of royal blood. He was buried in the abbey of Rushen. Stubbs thinks it probable that he was appointed by the king of Man, and consecrated in Norway, for there seems to have been a York bishop contemporary, namely

**JOHN**, son of Hefare (*Chr. Mn.*) (? John Mac Ivar, Stubbs). He perished in an accidental fire, and was buried at 'Jerewos in England.' Various conjectures are offered as to the place meant by 'Jerewos.' Jervaulx, Jarrow, Jurby in the Isle of Man, Yarmouth have been suggested. Stubbs is, I think, most likely to be correct in preferring Jervaulx.

John is found witnessing a deed of Walter, archbishop of York, in 1230.

**SIMON**, of Argyll (*Erchadiensis*) (*Chr. Mn.* 116).

The *Annals of Iceland* relate that Simon was consecrated in 1226. But the *Chronicle of Man* (100), when referring his death to 28 Feb. 1247, says it was in the eighteenth year of his episcopate, which would make his consecration in 1229-30. He was consecrated (perhaps at Bergen) by Peter, archbishop of Trondhjem (see Munch's Notes, 243).<sup>1</sup> On 7 July, 1236, Gregory IX. sent a mandate to the bishop of Moray on petition of the bishop of Sodor, to relieve the same from the care of the diocese of Lismore, on account of his infirmities (T. No. 84). He died, according to the *Icelandic Annals*, in 1249; according to the *Chr. of Man* (100), on 28 Feb. 1247. He is witness to a charter on 9 Jan. 1240-1 (Arbroath, i. 95). He enacted a body of synodal constitutions, the date of which is variously given as 1229 and 1239.<sup>2</sup> I suspect that the clue to the difficulty is to be found in the constitutions having been enacted at various synods, as seems implied in the title, 'Haec sunt statuta synodalia et constitutiones synodorum, etc.' (Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 664).

order at Candida Casa,' the church of St. Runa in Man, with tithes, chapels, etc. T. Talbot's *Priory of Whithern and its lands and churches in Mann* (Douglas: 1900, App. No. 2).

<sup>1</sup> 'S.' bishop of Sodor, witnesses a deed of Clement, bishop of Dunblane, in Aug. 1234 (Inchaffray, No. 61).

<sup>2</sup> See the note in Wilkins' *Concilia*, i. 664.

A difficulty as to the real date of Simon's death is by Stubbs supposed to be created by a letter of Innocent IV. to the archbishop of York dated 15 Feb. 1243-4, recounting that the abbot and convent of Furness, situate in the diocese of York, had represented to him that they, who enjoyed the right of electing the bishop to the cathedral church of Man, can scarcely ever (*vix aut nunquam*) find anyone to accept his election because of the long and extremely perilous voyage to the archbishop of Trondhjem. They therefore prayed the pope to take measures to provide against this evil. They had also stated that in the past sometimes the archbishop of York, and sometimes the archbishop of Trondhjem, had been accustomed to give consecration *pro varietate temporum*. The pope therefore directs the archbishop of York that with the consent, if he gives it, of the archbishop of Trondhjem (to whom the pope had written on the subject) as often as the abbot and convent should happen to present an elected person, he should, if he is satisfied as to the canonical character of the election and the fitness of the elect, confirm the election and consecrate the elect. Bishop Stubbs has, I think, been mistaken (*Reg. Sac. Angl.* 211) in supposing that this implies that there was a vacancy at the time. The language of the letter does not speak of a vacancy; and the illness or old age of Simon—for he died 'in a good old age'—might have induced them to look forward to what might soon be necessary. Stubbs (*ib.*) is led by this document to give a date (1243) for the probable death of Simon which does not correspond with what may be inferred from the documents. But there is really no necessity for any such conjecture.

The original text of the Papal Letter is printed by Munch (*Chr. Mn.* 309-10) and a summary of it is in C.P.R. i. 206.

Simon died at Kirkmichael, and was buried in the church of St. German (the cathedral), which he had begun to build (*Chr. Mn.* 116).<sup>1</sup>

'After his death the bishopric was vacant for nearly six years' (*Chr. Mn. ib.*).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Simon confirmed the gift of his antecessor Nicholas of the church of Runa to Candida Casa (Talbot, App. No. 3).

<sup>2</sup> In *Register of Paisley* (p. 135) there is a confirmation to Paisley of the church of St. Finan by 'Stephanus episcopus Sodorensis,'

The *Chronicle* (100) relates that after Simon's death the chapter of Man elected *LAURENCE*, archdeacon of Man, who set out for Norway to present himself to King Harold and the archbishop of Trondhjem. The king, on account of letters which he had received, would not assent to the election until he would return to Man with him, and in his presence be elected 'by all the clergy and people.' On the voyage the next year (1249) the king and Laurence perished at sea (at Sumburgh Roost, 1248.—Munch, 248).

**RICHARD**, an Englishman (*Chr. Mn.*), canon of St. Andrews, and chaplain to John, cardinal priest of the title of St. Laurence in Lucina (Papal Letter, printed by Munch, 315).

In a letter of Innocent IV., dated Perugia, 14 March, 1252-3, addressed to 'the chapter of the church of Sodor,' the pope, without reference to any election, indicates that he has provided Richard to the see, and that Serlo, archbishop of Nidros (Trondhjem), by the pope's command had conferred on him the gift of consecration at the Apostolic See. Concurrent letters are sent to the clergy of the city and diocese of Sodor, and to the people of the city and diocese of Sodor. (The text will be found in Munch, *ib.*, and it is summarised in C.P.R. i. 284). The date of the letter shows that the year 1252 (given by some authorities as the date of his consecration) is to be understood as 1252-3.

The *Chronicle of Man* (116) says he ruled the diocese for twenty-three years and that, coming back from the General Council (of Lyons), 1274, he died at 'Langalyver in Copelandia,' and was buried in the monastery of St. Mary at Furness.

appointed by the pope 'gestor cure ecclesie Lesmorensis.' The charter has been assigned [by the Paisley editor] to 1253; but it is witnessed by Walter, son of Alan, who, according to M., died in 1241. Perhaps 'Stephen' arises from a wrong expansion of 'S'; and if this is so, 'Simon' (*see ante*) may be intended. [In that case the charter should be dated before Simon was relieved from the care of the diocese of Lismore in virtue of the Bull of 1236 above.] The passage in the *Register of Paisley* is, I think, the solitary testimony to the existence of a bishop of Sodor named Stephen.

The *Chronicle* does not say that Richard died in 1274. He may, as was not uncommon, have delayed some time on the continent before his return. If the *Chronicle* is correct as to the length of his occupancy of the see, his death would be in 1276. But as it would seem that his successor was appointed in 1275, the figures in the *Chronicle* must be adjusted to the facts.

Bishop Stubbs (without citing his authority) says that Richard died in 1275, and was buried at Furness on 25 March (*Reg. Sac. Angl.* 211).

Langalyver is a manor in Cumberland. At the dissolution Furness held land in Copeland of the annual value of £4 6s. 8d. Copeland is marked in the map of Cumberland in Camden's *Britannia*.

**MARK** (Marcus; and in error, Marus; Mauritius in Sc. xi. 35).

On the death of Richard, Gilbert, abbot of Rushen, was elected by the clergy and people. According to a continuation of William of Newburgh, written by a monk of Furness, King Alexander of Scotland, setting aside his election, despatched Mark, a relative of the *ballivus* of Man (and according to the *Chronicle of Man*, a native of Galloway), to the archbishop of Nidaros with letters from himself and from such of the clergy and people as he could get to sign and seal them. The *Icelandic Annals* state that Mark was consecrated in 1275 at Tunsberg, in the south of Norway, by Archbishop John of Nidaros. It should be remembered that by the treaty of Perth, 2 July, 1266, the kingdom of the Isles had been ceded by Magnus of Norway to Alexander III. of Scotland. There is a grant to the priory of Whithern by Alexander (III.) of Scotland of the church of the Holy Trinity at Ramsay, 24 May, 1285. And this was confirmed by Mark, bishop of Sodor, at Kirkanders, 26 June, 1285 (Talbot, App. No. 10 [misprinted 1275]).

Mark figures in the disputes as to the Scottish succession; and references to him will be found in Dr. Goss's notes to Munch's *Chronicle of Man* (250-1); see also Palgrave's *Documents and Records*, 53.

He was a prisoner of Edward I. in 1299; and the pope prays

for his release (C.P.R. i. 584).<sup>1</sup> He ruled for twenty-four years, and then was exiled by the people of Man (for what cause we know not); but on account of their action the island was put under interdict for three years. Afterwards he returned and for the relaxation of the interdict the people granted the bishop one penny from every house with a hearth (*de qualibet domo fumigante*). Hence arose the custom of making the same grant to all his successors on their return to Man from the Isles (*Chr. Mn.* 118).

On 10 Dec. 1292, the sheriff of Selkirk is ordered by the king to pay to Mark, bishop of Sodor, 12 marks for certain expenses which he had incurred in prosecuting certain business (*quedam negotia*) of the kingdom of Scotland (*Rot. Scot.* i. 13). On 29 Aug. 1296 orders are given that Mark, bishop of Sodor, should be sent to Berwick, to do what was due to the king as his lord (*ib.* 24). This was doubtless to do homage to Edward I.

He became blind in his old age, died, and was buried in the church of St. German (*Chr. Mn.* 118).

If we add to the twenty-four years the three years of the interdict we reach 1302; but he seems to have lived for some little time after his return. And Bishop Stubbs places his death as 'about 1303' (*Reg. Sac. Angl.* 211).<sup>2</sup> Sc. xi. 35 (probably in error) makes him a prisoner in London in 1304.

**ALAN**, a native of Galloway (*Chr. Mn.* 118). Consecrated in 1304 or 1305 (early in the year), for on 26 March, 1305 (thirty-third year of Edward I.), he is granted by Edward I. letters of safe-conduct and protection for exercising his episcopal office by way of visitation 'ad partes insularum de Incegal' (*Prynne's Records*, vol. iii. 1111; B.C. ii. No. 1717). In 1309-10 he acknowledged the right of Robert I. to the crown of Scotland (A.P. i. 460). Stubbs (*Reg. Sac. Angl.* 212), without citing his authority, says he was consecrated by Jorund,

<sup>1</sup> See the Bull (v. Kal. Julii 1299) of Boniface VIII. printed in the suppressed volume entitled *Parliamentary Records of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 80-1, wrongly dated 1300; see also Lanercost, 194-8.

<sup>2</sup> His synodical constitutions (adopted in the Synod held in St. Brandan's church in Man on 10 March, 1291) in thirty-six chapters will be found in Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii. 175-80.

archbishop of Trondhjem, which is, at all events, most probable. But Munch has found nothing concerning him in Scandinavian or other sources beyond the statement in *Chr. Mn.*, from which we learn that he died on 15 Feb. 1320, that is, probably, 1320-1, and was buried in the church of St. Mary at Rothesay in Bute. (Stubbs gives 13 Feb. 1321).

**GILBERT MACLELAN**, a native of Galloway, succeeded, but when is not stated. He was bishop for two years and a half (*Chr. Mn.*). Consecrated by Eilulf of Trondhjem.

He is found as a witness to charters in the nineteenth, twentieth (Scone, 95), and twenty-first years of Robert I. (K.), that is, in the years between 27 March, 1324, and 27 March, 1327. The latest of these is dated at Cambuskenneth, 20 July, 1326 (R.M.S. 108, No. 60), and the earliest, 16 Dec. 1324 (Arbroath, i. 220). He appears too 16 Jan. 1325-6 (Cambusk. No. 145).

If the statement (above) as to the length of his episcopate be correct, there must have been a vacancy for some time previous to his election.

He was buried in the same place as his predecessor, Alan (*Chr. Mn.*).<sup>1</sup>

**BERNARD (DE LINTON)**, a Scot (*Chr. Mn.*), chancellor of Scotland, abbot of Arbroath for seventeen years (Arbroath, i. 316).<sup>2</sup> He is elect in 1327.<sup>3</sup>

He appears as elect of Sodor and abbot of Arbroath on 30 April, 1328, when William, bishop of St. Andrews, at the request of the king, and with the assent and consent of the whole convent (of Arbroath), enacts that Bernard shall be allowed for his expenses in connexion with his election, and with his appointment, should he be promoted to Sodor, the corn tithes (*fructus garbales*) of the church of Abernethy with the chapel of Dron in the diocese of Dunblane for seven years from Easter, 1328 (Arbroath, i. 316). The king allows him £100 towards the expenses of his election (E.R. i. 114).

<sup>1</sup> In 1329 the king allows the brother of Gilbert, late bishop of Sodor, Cuthbert by name, £4 as part of the expenses of the bishop's funeral (E.R. i. 152).

<sup>2</sup> [He was abbot in 1311 (Kinloss, p. 131; Arbroath, i. 282).]

<sup>3</sup> [14 Jan. 1327-8 (E.R. i. 59).]

He had been made chancellor of Scotland in 1307.<sup>1</sup> [He witnesses a royal charter as bishop of Sodor, 12 Nov. 1328 (original in Reg. House, Cal. No. 95).]

According to *Chr. Mn.* he was bishop for four years.

His death is ordinarily assigned to 1333; and so Stubbs (*Reg. Sac. Anglic.* 212). But C.P.R. (ii. 341) supplies us with a papal letter which shows that Bernard must have died at latest in May, 1331. See the appointment of his successor.

He was buried at the monastery of Kilwynyn (*Chr. Mn.*).

**THOMAS**, a Scot (*Chr. Mn.*), canon of Dunkeld, and papal chaplain (C.P.R. ii. 341).

He was appointed by John XXII. on 10 June, 1331. Concurrent letters to the chapter, to the clergy, to the people of the diocese, to the archbishop of Trondhjem, and to David, king of Scotland (C.P.R. *ib.*). His episcopate lasted for 18 years (*Chr. Mn.*), and he died 20 Sept. 1348 (*ib.*) and was buried at Sccone (*ib.*). The statement of the *Chronicle* must be interpreted to mean that he died in the 18th year of his episcopate.

The *Chronicle of Man* states that he was the first to extort 20 shillings from the churches of Man, as visitation fees (*in nomine procurationum*), and that he was the first to extort from the rectors the tithe paid by the strangers engaged in the herring fishing (*ib.*).

**WILLIAM RUSSELL**, a Manxman, abbot of the monastery of St. Mary at Rushen.

Elected by the clergy of the isle of Man in 1348 (*Chr. Mn.*). Elect, provided 22 April, 1349 (E.).

Pope Clement VI. writes to William, bishop-elect of Sodor, on 27 April, 1349, confirming the election of him by the clergy of the diocese, he being abbot of Russin, subject to the abbot of Furness, and the see being reserved to the pope. Concurrent

<sup>1</sup> [He is styled chancellor 31 Oct. 1308 (A.P. i. 477). The charter (Morton, ii. 11) in which he appears as abbot of Arbroath and chancellor, 4 May, 1307, is obviously antedated by several years in the Morton Register. He is still chancellor 20 Mar. 1327-8 (R.A. i. 47), but had ceased to be so by 3 July, 1328 (Wemyss, ii. 265).] Sc. (xii. 21) has preserved some thirty Latin hexameters of Bernard's on the battle of Bannockburn.

letters are sent to the clergy and people of the city and diocese, to Arno, archbishop of Trondhjem, to William de Monteacuto, lord of the land of Man, to Robert Stiward (Steward) called 'Senescallus of Scotland,' lord of the isle of Bute, and to John Moac Dofnald (MacDonald) lord of Ile, all in the diocese of Sodor (C.P.R. iii. 279).

The letters are printed at length in the appendix to Munch's edition of the *Chronicle of Man* (336-43); and we learn from them (1) that the see had become void by the death of Thomas; (2) that the clergy of the city and diocese of Sodor, to whom the election pertained, as was said, convened and elected William unanimously and 'quasi per inspirationem divinam'; (3) that before giving his consent he had obtained leave from the abbot of Furness, 'thy superior'; (4) that William, doubting whether the provision of the see of Sodor had not been reserved to the Apostolic See, had resorted in person to the pope and supplicated that the election might be confirmed.

William's consecration must have taken place between 27 April and 6 May, 1349;<sup>1</sup> for on the latter day Clement VI. writes to William directing him to betake himself to the church of Sodor, he having received the gift of consecration from Bertrand (cardinal) bishop of Ostia. (The text of the letter is printed in Munch's Appendix to *Chr. Mn.* pp. 349-350.)

On 7 May, 1349, the pope sanctions William's contracting a loan of 1200 gold florins in his own name and that of the church of Sodor, so that he might burden himself and his successors in the see on his and their goods movable and immovable up to the amount specified. The church property was, however, not to remain security for more than two years. This loan was intended to meet the 'necessary expenses' incurred at the Apostolic See as well as other expenses. (The Latin text is printed in Munch's Appendix, pp. 351-354.)

On 14 June, 1349, the pope grants to William authority to dispense such religious as by the statutes of their order are forbidden to eat flesh meat, when they partook of the bishop's hospitality at his table, but only on those days upon which the eating of flesh is not generally forbidden (Munch's Appendix, pp. 355-356).

<sup>1</sup> Presumably, on Sunday, 4 May.

The *Chronicle of Man* (118) states that Russell was the first bishop of Sodor that was consecrated and confirmed by the Apostolic See, 'for all his predecessors had been accustomed to be confirmed and consecrated by the archbishop of Nidaros.' When the *Chronicle* says that Russell was consecrated by Clement VI., no more was probably intended than that he was consecrated by his authority. Similar interpretations must be given to like statements in others of the medieval chronicles.

Bishop William Russell held a synod 'with the whole clergy of Man' 23 Feb. 1350, in the church of St. Michael, and enacted synodal constitutions in six chapters. They are printed in Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 10-12.

It must be this bishop to whom Urban V. wrote, 7 Dec. 1367, on the petition of the Provincial of the Friar-minors of Ireland and of William de Monteacute, earl of Salisbury and lord of Man, concerning the founding of a house of Minors in the isle of Man (T. No. 676).

He died 21 April, 1374, at Ramsheved, and was buried in the monastery of Furness. He was abbot of Rushen for eighteen years, and bishop of Sodor for twenty-six years (*Chr. Mn.* 118-120). Ramsheved, or Ramshead, is in Lancashire. Edward III. granted the monks of Furness 'free warren' in it. At the dissolution Furness had ten shillings out of it.<sup>1</sup>

William de Zouche, archbishop of York, granted to William, bishop of Man, a commission to confer orders in the diocese of York, 11 Dec. 1351. This commission was renewed by his successor, John de Thoresby, 21 Oct. 1353 (Goss's Note to *Chr. Mn.* 255. The authority cited is Raine, i. 458).

Several petitions, mostly of the usual kind, made by Bishop Russell to the pope shortly after his consecration, will be found in C.P.R. Pet. i. 168-169. Among these is one which sets forth that whereas the petitioner is subject to the archbishop of Trondhjem, and does not dare to face the dangers of the long sea-voyage, which he would have to take in going to pay his obedience, he petitions the pope to release him from the obligation, if the archbishop sought to exact his obedience or summon him beyond the bounds of the diocese of Sodor. The pope, 14 June, 1349, concedes that on the present occasion he

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Goss, on the authority of West's *Furness*, 55, 101, 108.

may pay his obedience to the archbishop of Trondhjem by a proctor. Russell's interest in Furness is shown by a petition on behalf of Alexander, abbot of Furness, that he may dispense three or four of his monks working on their granges, or travelling, so that they may eat flesh-meat (*ib.*).

We find him again a petitioner in 1362, when he represents to Pope Urban V. that his cathedral church and precincts had been occupied as a fortress by the lord of the isle of Man during the wars between England and Scotland, so that the bishops had suffered greatly and divine service had ceased. He prays that the said lord should be required by the pope to restore the cathedral to the bishop. He also signifies that in consequence of the wars few literate persons are found to hold benefices, and prays that he may ordain eight persons (presumably without the usual literary qualifications) to the priesthood, who may hold benefices with cure of souls. These petitions were granted on 3 Jan. 1361-2 (*ib.* 394).

**JOHN DONEGAN** (Dongan, Duncan, Dunkan), a Manxman (*Chr. Mn.* 120), archdeacon of Down (Papal Letter, transcribed by Munch, *Chr. Mn.* 394-7).

The *Chronicle of Man* states that on Thursday, 31 May, 1374, being the feast of Corpus Christi,<sup>1</sup> a certain John Donkan, a Manxman, was elected bishop 'by the clergy of Man' in the cathedral church of St. German. And that on the feast of St. Leonard next following (that is, on 6 Nov.) he was confirmed by the pope, Gregory XI. at Avignon, and that on the feast of St. Catherine (25 Nov.) he was consecrated by the bishop of Praeneste, formerly archbishop of Canterbury (Simon Langham), at the church of the Dominicans, together with eight other bishops. This account is inaccurate in stating that John was 'confirmed' by the pope, for we possess the letter of Gregory XI. to John notifying his appointment to the see, in which not a word is said as to there having been an election at Man; but the pope expressly states that he had reserved the appointment to his own provision, and that any attempt to the contrary was null and void, and that having learned from trustworthy persons that the see was void by the death of

<sup>1</sup>[In 1374 Corpus Christi day fell on 1st June; and St. Catherine's day was not a Sunday but a Saturday.]

William, he appointed him, John, archdeacon of Down, being in priest's orders. This letter is dated 6 Nov. 1374. Concurrent letters were sent to the chapter of the church of Sodor, to the clergy of the city and diocese of Sodor, to the people of the city and diocese, to the vassals of the church of Sodor, to William, king of Man, and to the archbishop of Nidaros.<sup>1</sup>

The *Chronicle* goes on to state that Bishop John before reaching his diocese had been imprisoned at Boulogne (for what reason is not stated), and had been ransomed for 500 marks; and that he was not installed in his cathedral church till the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul (25 Jan.), 1376-7, when apparently he said his first pontifical mass. From a charter (printed in Mr. T. Talbot's *Priory of Whithern and its churches and lands in Mann*) confirming the parish churches of Trinity 'juxta Ransa' and of St. Rune to Candida Casa, we learn that John held a 'general chapter' in the church of St. Lupus in Mann, 5 Feb. 1376, *i.e.* 1376-7, and the third year of his consecration.

The *Chronicle of Man* ends abruptly here, and we have to resort to other sources of information.

In a letter of Urban VI. 9 May, 1380, we find 'John, bishop of Sodor' (T. No. 729). It will be observed that John was a papal bishop, as distinguished from the anti-papal bishops of Scotland.

As in the case of other bishops of obscure sees, he seems to have been at various times commissioned to perform episcopal offices in English dioceses. He had a commission from the bishop of Salisbury on 14 Jan. 1390. He ordains in London in 1391 and 1392. For these and other acts in England, see Stubbs, *Reg. Sac. Angl.* 212. Stubbs gives the authority of *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum* for John Donkan being translated 'ad Cathadensem ecclesiam' on 27 Sept. 1392,<sup>2</sup> and John Sprotton being provided to Sodor at the same date. But this statement seems to be incorrect, for we find John Donegan, bishop of Sodor, translated to the see of Down in 1395 (Goss's

<sup>1</sup> These letters will be found in Munch's Appendix to *Chr. Mn.* 394-400.

<sup>2</sup> [See Eubel. The name appears to be corrupt.]

Notes to Munch's *Chr. Mn.* 257).<sup>1</sup> He is said by some to have died in 1412. Stubbs thinks he may have survived to 1408. But that question belongs to the ecclesiastical history of Ireland.<sup>2</sup>

**MICHAEL**, a friar minor, archbishop of Cashel, appointed to Cashel by the anti-pope Clement VII. 22 Oct. 1382, while about the same date Urban VI. appointed another. He had been minister of the province of Ireland in the community of Minorites; translated to Sodor by Clement VII. 15 July, 1387 (E.).<sup>3</sup> He would doubtless have adhered to the anti-popes, and the appointment of Michael Anchire (if he be not a different person) on 20 April, 1422, would be of a piece with the wise policy of continuing in their sees adherents of the anti-popes, who at length acknowledged the accepted popes. Similar

<sup>1</sup> [According to Eubel, John (Dongan), bishop of *Derry*, was translated to Down, 16 Sept. 1394. So C.P.R. iv. 480].

<sup>2</sup> On 5 May, 1380, John, bishop of Sodor, was one of the apostolic Nuncios and collectors in Ireland, and was accused to the pope, Urban VI., of having collected and kept back money. The pope commissioned two Irish ecclesiastics (named) to make enquiry into the matter. Eubel (i. 481) in the column of his list which refers to the cause of the vacancy to which his successor was appointed writes, 'amot. Joa. sequ. Urb. VI.' [That is, John being an adherent of Urban VI. was deposed by Clement VII. Michael was therefore the bishop recognised in the Scottish part of the diocese, and the others appointed during the schism were of the English part.] It is plain that John Donegan, like the bishops of England, adhered to the papal as distinguished from the anti-papal party. It seems likely that the Scottish part of the diocese rejected the services of the papal bishop; and it may be that there were appointments by the anti-popes. Man would now, if not earlier, be separated from the Isles. Accordingly Keith supposes another John, contemporary with John Donegan or Duncan. In papal writs we begin to find Sodor in Ireland (*in Hibernia*) and Sodor in Scotland (*in Scotia*), the former expression being used apparently for Man. At a later time we find the expression 'Ecclesia Sodorensis in insula Man' (B. i. 107).

<sup>3</sup> [On 29 Oct. 1397, he had from Benedict XIII. indults to reconcile polluted churches, and to visit parts of his diocese by deputy (*Reg. Avin.* 304, 522, 527).]

action to that here supposed will be found in other cases. On 1 Nov. 1409, Michael, bishop of Sodor, witnessed a grant by Donald of Ile, lord of the Isles (R.M.S. ii. No. 2264).

When two sets of claimants to the papacy are appointing within the same period to a bishopric which had little attractions for anyone, it is not easy to adjust and place properly the various names which make their appearance. A bishop named John [*v. p. 286*] was translated 'ad Catheden.' (*sic*) before **JOHN SPROTEN**, a Dominican, was provided by Boniface IX. 27 Sept. 1392. John Sprotten was released, and on 9 Jan. 1401-2, **CONRAD**, a Cistercian, was provided by the same pope. A few months later **THEODORE BLOC**, a monk of the order of Crucifers, of the diocese of Utrecht (16 April, 1402) is appointed by the same pope (E.). On 5 Nov. 1421, Martin V. deals with a recent petition of Dominic, son of Keneth (Kenythi), monk of Iona, in the diocese of Sodor, who had been elected abbot and blessed by Bishop **RICHARD** (C.P.R. vii. 194). This is Richard,<sup>1</sup> bishop of Dromore, appointed by Pope John XXIII. to Sodor, 30 May, 1410. With the exception of Richard these bishops were probably mere titulars.

On the death of Richard, Martin V. appointed **MICHAEL (ANCHIRE)**, priest of Dublin, 20 April, 1422 (E.). The next name belongs more probably to Sodor as an English suffragan. **JOHN** (Burghelinus), a Franciscan, is appointed by Martin V. 20 July, 1425 (E.).<sup>2</sup> He is elsewhere named John Burghersh. On 18 Oct. 1433, Eugenius IV. grants him a faculty to be consecrated by any catholic bishop without prejudice to the archbishop of York as metropolitan. Provision had been made to him some time ago (C.P.R. viii. 463).<sup>3</sup>

**ANGUS** of the Isles, a subdeacon, rector of the parish church of St. Columba in the diocese of Argyll, is appointed, 19 June, 1426. He was the son of a married man and an unmarried woman, for which defect he was dispensed (C.P.R. vii. 466, and B.). [He witnesses a charter 23 June, 1427 (R.M.S. ii.

<sup>1</sup> [Called Richard Messing, Carmelite (E. i. 236).]

<sup>2</sup> [Eubel's 30 July is a misprint. See C.P.R. vii. 389 n.]

<sup>3</sup> [Eubel regards John Burghersh of the Cluniac Order (provided 22 April, 1433) as a different person from John Burghelinus.]

2287).] On 11 Feb. 1427-8 he was still elect of Sodor, and made his *obtulit* 660 florins. On the 28 Feb. Angus, 'bishop of Sodor,' pays 'realiter cum effectu' 50 gold florins in reduction of his *commune servitium*, and 30 gold florins as full payment of one *minutum servitium* (B.).

On 14 March, 1427-8, the pope granted to Angus the *commendam* of the parish church of St. Coman in Yle, value not more than 20 marks sterling (C.P.R. viii. 25). The bishop of Sodor sat in Parliament 10 March, 1429-30 (A.P. ii. 28).

Keith conjectured that there were two bishops of Sodor bearing the name Angus. His conjecture is proved to be correct, but they were not necessarily in immediate succession. It is just possible that John Burgherssh, mentioned above, may have been one of the intervening bishops; but, so far as I know, no bishop of the name John is recognised at this time in Scottish records.

It would appear that about this time bishops were appointed to Man as a diocese under York, and also to the Scottish Sodor or the Isles.

The lists in Eubel and in Stubbs must be read with this fact in view. Though doubtless some bishop intervened,<sup>1</sup> I hesitate to insert any name as that of a bishop of the Scottish diocese till we reach

**ANGUS II.**: consecrated Sunday, 27 Sept. 1472, by James, 'episcopo Sanctangeli de Lombardis,' John, bishop of Ross, and Ceccantonius (? Cichus), bishop of Caserta in the church of St. Bartholomew 'de Urbe' (B. i. Preface, xxii.). This entry is puzzling, for neither in the Irish nor Scottish Ross can I find a John at this date.<sup>2</sup>

A bishop of Sodor sat in the Scottish Parliament 1 July, 1476 (A.P. ii. 113), and his name, 'Angusius,' appears on

<sup>1</sup>[It is likely that **JOHN 'HECTORIS'**, priest of Sodor diocese, who was appointed to the see 1 Oct. 1441 (E.) on the death of Augustus (meaning evidently Angus) may belong to the series of Scottish bishops. In a Bull of 11 March, 1455-6 (*Reg. Lat.* 508, 147), John, bishop of Sodor, appears as ordinary in a case relating to the church of St. Coman in that diocese (Kilchoman in Islay).]

<sup>2</sup>[Could John Alcock, bishop of Rochester (*Roffensis*), be intended ?]

15 July, 1476 (*ib.* 190). He witnesses great-seal charters in May and July of this year (R.M.S. ii. 1241, 1246, 1248, 1249).

**JOHN (CAMPBELL).** Provided 19 Jan. 1486-7<sup>1</sup> (B.; E. says 18 Jan.). On 14 June, 1490, he *obtulit*, by the hands of Robert Camber, archdeacon of Lismore, 600 gold florins. At this latter date he is styled 'elect of Sodor and the Isles' (B.).

*The Black Book of Taymouth* makes the death of John Campbell, bishop of the Isles and Sodor, to have been at Ycollumkill, 14 June, 1510. In the letter of James IV., cited in next entry, he is styled 'Johannes Sodorensis alias Insularum.' He appears in R.S.S. in 1503, 1505, 1506, and a bishop of Sodor (unnamed) in 1508.

At the date 1 April, 1498, we have in R.S.S. (i. No. 184) the following, 'A Letter to the pape and ane to the vice-chancellare, for the erection of the Abbacy of Colmkyll in (*i.e.* into) the bischoppis sete of the Ilis, quhil his principall kirk in the Ile of Man be recoverit fra Inglymen, etc. Solicitate per comitem de Ergile.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>[In *Scots Peerage*, ii. 177, he is said to have been son of Sir Colin Campbell, first of Glenurchy, by a second wife. But the following note preserved in the Vatican archives of a Bull contained in a volume now lost, indicates that he was illegitimate: 'Pro Johanne Cambel dispensatio illegitimitatis super provisione ecclesie Sodoren.' On 26 March, 1466, Pope Paul II. dealt with the petition of Sir Colin Campbell, then ambassador from James III. to the Holy See, on behalf of John 'Cambel,' scholar of Lismore diocese, of baronial race on both sides, born of said Colin a married man and an unmarried woman, then in his seventh year, for dispensation to hold two canonries and prebends of cathedral or collegiate churches; which the pope granted when he should reach his ninth year (*Reg. of Petitions to the Pope*, 585, 206). This may well have been the same person. He was archdeacon of Lismore and under the canonical age, when he was provided on the death of Angus. If he were in his seventh year in 1466, he would not complete his thirtieth year till 1489. As archdeacon of Argyll he is a witness, 2 Aug. 1486 (R.M.S. ii. 1662).]

<sup>2</sup>[On 15 June, 1499, Bishop John was granted the abbacy of Hy (Iona) in commendam (*Reg. Lat.* 1049, 191).]

**GEORGE (HEPBURN)** : 'uncle to the first earl of Bothwell' (K.).<sup>1</sup> He was provost of Lincluden when elected, 9 Feb. 1503-4, 'nullo reclamante, Spiritu Sancto, ut pie creditur, inspirante,' abbot of Arbroath (Arbroath, ii. 349). He is found treasurer of Scotland [on 18 Aug. 1509 and onwards till 23 Aug. 1510 (R.M.S. ii. Nos. 3373, 3495)]. On 21 June, 1510, James IV., writing to the pope, says that it would be 'gratum nobis et acceptum,' if George, abbot of Arbroath, of noble race, both on father's and mother's side, our treasurer were appointed to the bishopric of the Isles (*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* i. 1112). He was postulate of the Isles from Oct. 1510 to April, 1511 (*Act. Dom. Concil.*). 'George, postulat of the Ylis,' and other bishops were 'jugis arbitouris,' 8 Nov. 1510 (Keir, 294). [He was provided to the see 10 Feb. 1510-1, and on 23 March he offered 660 florins for Sodor, 600 florins for the abbey of Arbroath, and 41 $\frac{2}{3}$  florins for that of Iona (E.; and *Obligazioni*).]

He is admitted to the temporality of the see 11 May, 1511 (R.S.S. i. No. 2250). He was consecrated before 4 July, 1511, which is in the first year of his consecration (Arbroath, ii. 407). In Nov. 1512, he is described as bishop of Sodor and commendator of Arbroath and Colmkill (R.M.S. ii. 3784, 3786, where he appears with John Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, as a curator of Adam, earl of Bothwell). He fell at Flodden 9 Sept. 1513.

[Arms : on a chevron two lions pulling at a rose.]

**JOHN (CAMPBELL**, M.A., clerk of Dunkeld diocese).<sup>2</sup> 'Joannes electus Sodorensis' sat in parliament 22 Feb. 1524-5, 15 Nov. 1526, and 3 Sept. 1528 (A.P. ii. 288, 308, 321). [He had been provided to the see by Clement VII., but was never consecrated. He resigned, and had certain parts of the revenues assigned to him 17 May, 1532; which was confirmed 3 Nov. 1534 (*Reg. Vat.* 1741, 309).]

**FERQUHARD McCACHANE** ['Hectoris,' monk of S. Columba (of Hy). Provided by the pope in consistory 17 Feb.

<sup>1</sup> [According to the more correct account in *Scots Peerage*, ii. 150, he was brother of the first earl.]

<sup>2</sup> [Son of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy by Margaret Moncrieff, his second wife (*Black Book of Taymouth*, quoted in *Scots Peerage*, ii. 180).]

(E.), and by bull 21 Feb. 1529-30 (*Reg. Vat.* 1428, 334).<sup>1</sup> The see is said to be vacant by death of George, bishop thereof; that is, there had been no consecrated bishop since Flodden]. See next entry for the words 'per obitum Ferquhardi Hectoris.' He obtained the temporalities of this see and the *commemdam* of Icolmkill on 24 May, 1530 (R.S.S. viii. f. 190). He was legitimated 9 May, 1544. In the letter of legitimation he is called 'M. Farquhardus Farquhardsoun filius naturalis Farquhardi McCachane (R.S.S. xviii. 47). I am told that McCachane means son of Hector.

In 1544 (18 Nov., R.S.S. xviii. 92) he obtained licence to resign the see into the hands of the pope in favour of

**RODERICK MACLENE**, archdeacon of the Isles.

On 5 March, 1549-50, the pope provided to the church of Sodor, otherwise the Isles, void by the death of Ferquhard Hector (or son of Hector—'Ferquhardi Hectoris'), Roderick Maclene, lately elect of Clonmacnoise (*Cluanen.*); and on Roderick freely resigning all right to Clonmacnoise into the hands of the pope, he was provided to Sodor, with retention of all his benefices. Tax, 660 florins (B. 163). This is the last entry from the papal records given by Brady.

Roderick Maclene had been formally provided by the pope to Clonmacnoise on 30 Aug. 1549. The provision is said to be 'de persona D. Roderici Machillienni, presbyteri Rossen. dioc., in aetate legitima constituti, et de nobili genere ex utroque parente procreati.' Brady's comment is that 'Maclene did not perfect this appointment, which was made on a false report of the death of (Florence) Kirwan' (B. 246). The Apostolic Letters appointing Maclene to Clonmacnoise had not been expedie.

**ALEXANDER GORDON.** See Glasgow.

After his resignation of Glasgow, with the title of archbishop of Athens, he was appointed to the Isles. Keith places his appointment on 26 Nov. 1553.

Alexander, elect of the Isles, is in Parliament 12 April, 1554 (A.P. ii. 603).

[<sup>1</sup> The Bull contains a clause commanding Ferquhard to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, whose suffragan he is. See S.E.S. i. cxxii, cxxviii.]

He was admitted to the temporality of the monastery of Ycolmkill 11 March, 1553-4 (R.S.S. xxvi. 86). From 1554 to 1562 he describes himself in language that points to his not having received papal confirmation, as archbishop of Athens, bishop postulate of the Isles, and perpetual commendator of one or both of the abbeys of Inchaffray and Icolmkill (*Lib. Insul. Miss.* pp. lvi, 120, 126). We find Alex. Gordoun, archbishop of Athens, postulate of the Isles, and perpetual commendator of Inchaffray 24 July, 1555 (R.M.S. v. No. 919).

In the ecclesiastical sense he does not appear to have been translated to Galloway, but his relation to the temporalities of that see will be seen treated under Galloway.

## The Bishops of Glasgow

**MICHAEL.** Although the bishop first named in this list is unknown in Scottish record, it would be improper to pass him over in silence. Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, writing in 1119 to Pope Calixtus II., states that Thomas (who was archbishop of York from 1109, June 27, to 1114, Feb. 24) 'quendam Britonem Glesguensi ecclesiae ordinavit episcopum' (*Historians of the Church of York*, ii. 246). Now this bishop cannot be identified (as by Keith, and by Grub, *Ecclesiastical History*, i. 220) with John (see next entry), because not only their names differed, but also because the consecrator of each was different. The York historian, Thomas Stubs, in the second half of the fourteenth century, states that Thomas, archbishop of York, at the request of Earl David, ordained a holy man, Michael by name, for the see of Glasgow, who gave a profession of canonical obedience to York in writing (*Historians of the Church of York*, ii. 371).<sup>1</sup> According to the same authority, Michael, by command of the archbishop of York, dedicated churches in the diocese of York, and conferred orders (*ordines fecit*) in the church of Morlund [in Westmoreland], in which church he was afterwards buried. How much of T. Stubs' statement is to be believed? Such competent judges as Haddan and W. Stubbs apparently think it may all be believed (*Councils*, ii. i. 14). Michael's conduct is like that of the nominal York-Orkney bishops; he acted as an assistant-bishop of York. His not appearing in Scottish record may perhaps be accounted for either because his death (as may be supposed) followed soon after his consecration, or Earl David

<sup>1</sup>[The same statement is in Hugh the Chantor's history, written apparently not later than 1140 (*ib.* ii. 127).]

may have resented Michael's having professed canonical obedience to York. There can be little doubt, I think, of the existence of this bishop bearing the title 'of Glasgow,' even if we regard him as only titular, and no doubt, if he existed, that he was a different person from John.

**JOHN.** A monk (*vir religiosus*, R.G. i. 4), formerly tutor to Earl David (*ib.*). He was consecrated, though reluctant, by Pope Paschal II. (who was elected in Aug. 1099, and died 21 Jan. 1117-8 (*ib.*), and among other authorities for Paschal being the consecrator of John, see the letter of Pope Innocent II. to John, printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vi. 1187.

The earliest charter evidence which I have found is his witnessing the foundation charter of the abbey of Selkirk by Earl David, that is, at latest, before 23 April, 1124, when Earl David succeeded to the throne (Kelso, No. 1).

For the attempts of successive popes to induce John to render obedience to the see of York, see Lawrie's *Early Scottish Charters*, pp. 40, 41, 81.

John, bishop of Glasgow, was consulted by Eadmer in his difficulties at St. Andrews in the year 1120 or 1121 (see Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*).

The writer, evidently not contemporary, who has penned the notes on Earl David's *Inquisitio* represents John as having been elected by Earl David *consilio clericorum* (R.G. i. 4). In a letter of Calixtus II. to John, 15 Jan. (1121-2), the pope says that John had been elected in *capitulo* of the church of York, as a suffragan of that church, and had been consecrated by Pope Paschal *postulatione ecclesie Eboracensis* (*Reg. Alb. Ebor.*: see Lawrie's *Early Scottish Charters*, No. xliv.). On 26 Aug. (1122) Calixtus wrote again to John requiring him to render obedience to the archbishop of York within thirty days (*ib.* No. xlv.). I do not think there is sufficient ground for seriously doubting the genuineness of these two papal letters. It is evident from the material before us that we cannot be very precise as to the date of John's consecration.

In 1122 John set out to visit Rome and Jerusalem, and was compelled in the following year to return to his see (M.). He went to Rome in 1125 to endeavour to obtain the pall for St.

Andrews. We find him at Roxburgh, 17 July, 1127 (*Nat. MSS. of Scotland*, i. No. 27); but he seems to have been again absent from his diocese, to which he was recalled by Alberic, the legate, in 1138 (Richard of Hexham, *s.a.* 1138). We find him witnessing at Edinburgh, 1 Nov. 1140 (Newbattle, 4), and in 1144 granting Lesmahago to Kelso (Kelso, 149). On 3 May, 1147, he was with King David at Coldingham (Raine's *North Durham*, Appendix, No. 21). He must have died very soon after (see next entry).

He died in 1147 (M.). John of Hexham gives the year of his death as 1148.<sup>1</sup> But Cosmo Innes remarks that the chronology of John of Hexham is a year too late after 1140, which year he divides into two. He was buried in the monastery of Jedwod (Jedburgh);—Sc. viii. 3, which authority makes John die in the twenty-eighth year of his episcopate. John was for a time chancellor (Dunfermline, No. 12).<sup>2</sup> I have not traced the authority for John's death being on 28 May, 1147 (K.); but it is a not improbable date. The statement in Sc. that John died in the twenty-eighth year of his episcopate is not consistent with his being consecrated by Paschal.

**HERBERT** (Hubert). Third abbot of Selkirk and first of Kelso, on the transfer of the monks of Selkirk to Kelso. We have the authority of M. (and of John of Hexham as to the place) for his being consecrated on St. Bartholomew's day (24 Aug.), 1147, by Pope Eugenius III., at Auxerre. We know from other sources that Eugenius, having to fly from Rome, was in France in that year. Indeed Eugenius seems to have been at Auxerre from the middle of July to 25 Aug. (Mas Latrie). He was at Auxerre on 30 Aug. (Cambusk. No. 23). Herbert made the church of Govan a prebend of his cathedral (R.G. 11). He gave benediction to John, abbot of Kelso, 6 Jan. 1160-1 (Sc. vi. 35). The date of his consecration, compared with the date of his predecessor's death, enables us to fix within narrow limits the undated charter of King David to the church of St. Mary of Stirling, witnessed by Herbert, elect of Glasgow (Cambusk. No.

<sup>1</sup> [In the Surtees Society edition (p. 156), 1147 is the date.]

<sup>2</sup> [It is perhaps better to regard the bishop and the chancellor in this charter as two different witnesses.]

51; A.P. i. 359). Herbert died in 1164 (M.; and Hoveden, i. 224); and for the time of the year we can gather something from the date of his successor's election.

**INGELRAM** (Engelram, Ingeram, Ingeran, Engeram), archdeacon of Glasgow [or rather of Teviotdale; see below]: only in deacon's orders: had been chancellor of King Malcolm (see below). There was an Engelram who was archdeacon of Teviotdale when Arnold was bishop of St. Andrews (original charter in the charter chest of Fletcher of Salton; MS. note in Joseph Robertson's copy of Keith in the Advocates' Library).<sup>1</sup> We can, by a comparison of the statements of M. and Sc., fix the date of his election. It was on Sunday, 20 Sept. 1164. He was ordained priest on the following Saturday, 26 Sept., and consecrated on the fortieth day (correctly the thirty-ninth) after his election (Sc. viii. 15) on 28 Oct., the feast of SS. Simon and Jude (M.), which in that year fell on Wednesday. He was consecrated by Pope Alexander III. at Sens (apud Senonensem civitatem, M.); not at Sienna, as Cosmo Innes (R.G. i. xxii). Alexander, after laying the foundation-stone of Notre-Dame at Paris, retired to Sens, 30 Sept. 1163, and remained there for a year and a half. Alexander, in his letter, dated Sens, 1 Nov., to the dean and chapter of Glasgow, states that Engelram, then elect, now their bishop, had come to him with letters of commendation from King Malcolm; that he had also received exhortations from the envoys of the archbishop of York. He, Alexander, however, desiring to defer to the

<sup>1</sup> Sir Archibald C. Lawrie has communicated to me reasons (and they seem to me weighty reasons) for questioning the accuracy of this statement. It is intended to examine and reconsider this point, and such others as may arise, at the close of this series of papers. [So the author wrote in *Scottish Historical Review*, Jan. 1908. The supplementary notes referred did not appear, and have not been found among his MSS. The charter referred to is printed in *History of the Carnegies Earls of Southesk*, 476, and in *Genealogist*, New Series, xvii. 107. Engelram the archdeacon (name of archdeaconry not specified) is a witness to three charters of Malcolm IV. (Holyrood 14; Kelso 299; Southesk 476): see also R.G. 17; Kelso 337, 338. Sir A. Lawrie's letter cannot be found, and he is unable to reproduce it from memory.]

wishes of the king, had consecrated Engelram, and with his own hands (R.G. i. 18).

On 22 May, 1171, Ingelram, together with four abbots, opened the tomb of Waldeve, second abbot of Melrose, and found the body entire and the vestments intact (M.).

Ingelram died on the feast of the Purification of the B.V.M. (2 Feb.), 1173-4 (M.).

He witnessed the foundation charter of Paisley, and confirmed all the gifts to that monastery made by Walter Fitz-Alan (Paisley, 6, 115). There is no use in citing other charter evidence.

Ingelram had been [chancellor to Earl Henry (see Lawrie, *Anc. Scot. Charters*, where eight charters witnessed by him in that capacity are given), and king's] chancellor under Malcolm (Sc. viii. 15; R.P.S.A. 202; and many other charters).<sup>1</sup> [His chancellorship seems to have lasted from 1161 to 1164.]

**JOCELIN** (Goscelin). Fourth abbot of Melrose, who had been advanced from prior to abbot, 22 April, 1170 (M.). He was elected to Glasgow, 'unanimiter,' 'concorditer' (R.G. i. 33, 34) by the clergy, 'the people requesting, and the king assenting,' at Perth on 23 May, 1174 (M.). The place of the election is well worth noting. Like the election of Roger to St. Andrews (1189) at Perth; of Reinald to Ross (1195) at Dunfermline; and of Malvoisine to St. Andrews (1202) at Scone; it seems to point to the desire to exercise the influence of the king on the election. Compare the requirement which for a time prevailed in England that the election of bishops should take place in the chapel royal. Pope Alexander III. confirmed the election 16 Dec. (1174), and commanded that consecration should be given him, if it was extremely difficult (*intolerabile*) for him to appear in the pope's presence (R.G. i. 35).

Jocelin was consecrated at Clairvaux by Eskil, archbishop of Lund, primate of Denmark, and papal legate, in 1175 (M.);

<sup>1</sup> I have to call attention of the learned to a serious difficulty presented by a charter of King William (Cambusk. No. 99). William came to the throne 9 Dec. 1165 (Dunbar's *Scottish Kings*, 77). Among the witnesses is 'Engelramo electo de Glasgu.' I shall not attempt a solution.

Sc. viii. 24). On 1 June, according to K., who does not give his authority.

The *Chronicle of Melrose* [and R.G.] give the date of Jocelin consecrating his new cathedral as 6 July, 1197, 'anno episcopatus sui xxiiij.' This is an error unless we count from the date of election.

Attention may here be called to a Bull of Alexander III., printed in R.G. (i. 30-32), and dated 'ij. Kal. Maii, Indictione vj. anno mclxxiiij. Incarnationis dominicae,' addressed to Jocelin and his successors. It is obvious that the year must be wrong. I would offer the conjecture that the original reading was 'ij. Kal. Mart.' which would make the year of the pontificate, viz. 'anno xvi.' correct, and the year of our Lord, 1175. But the indiction, viz. 'vj.' would still be wrong. The error, one may suspect, was due to the transcriber. No dates are more frequently in error than the number of the indiction.

Jocelin was one of the six Scottish bishops present at the Council of Northampton in 1176 (Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 483).

In 1182 Jocelin returned from a visit to Rome, bringing to King William a golden rose from Lucius III. (M.).

In 1197 the cathedral, a new building begun by Bishop Herbert, was consecrated by Jocelin, two other bishops assisting (R.G. 611). The date as given by Wyntoun (Book vii. line 2140) was 'the ferd day off July.'

Charter evidence is abundant for Jocelin's episcopate.

Jocelin died at Melrose, 17 March, 1199 (M.), and was buried in the monks' choir in the north of Melrose Abbey Church. Hoveden (iv. 85), more particularly, says he died on a Wednesday, being St. Patrick's Day. This notice of the day of the week is not unimportant, because it shows that the year was 1198-9. We find him alive after 24 Aug. 1198, in the year of the nativity of Alexander II. (Arbroath i. 103). He had a brother, Helias by name, who gave the church of Dunsyer to Kelso (Kelso, 285).

**HUGH DE ROXBURGH.** Chancellor of Scotland. He succeeded Jocelin as bishop (Sc. viii. 60); but as he died 10 July, 1199, less than four months after the death of Jocelin, it is not probable that he was consecrated. And as much is implied by

Hoveden (iv. 97), who writes 'eodem anno (1199) obiit Hugo Glascuensis ecclesiae electus sexto idus Julii.' From the same authority we learn that he was buried at Geddewrde (Jedburgh). The *Chronicle of Melrose* takes no notice of his election, but merely states 'Obiit Hugo cancellarius vj. idus Julii' (s.a. 1199).

**WILLIAM MALVOISINE** (Malevicinus): chancellor of the king, in deacon's orders, archdeacon of St. Andrews.

He had been one of the *clericis regis*, and archdeacon of St. Andrews, and was made chancellor of Scotland 8 Sept. 1199 (M.).

Elected in Oct. 1199 (Hoveden, iv. 97).

Consecrated at Lyons by the archbishop of Lyons (Reginald de Forez) at the command of Innocent III., Sunday, 24 Sept. 1200; having been ordained priest on the day preceding, being Saturday in Ember Week (Hoveden, iv. 139).<sup>1</sup> Postulated and translated to St. Andrews 20 Sept. 1202.<sup>2</sup>

**FLORENCE** (Florentius). Nephew of King William, being son of his sister Ada and Florence III., count of Holland, to whom she was married in 1161.<sup>3</sup>

Elect apparently in 1202. There is a blank space at the end of the year 1202 in the original MS. of M., and in the margin is written in red ink, 'Florentius electus Glasguensis.' He was chancellor of the king in 1203 (Holyrood, 36). Charters in which he appears as elect and chancellor will be found in R.G. (i. 85) and Arbroath (i. 50); and as elect in Melrose (i. 37, 117) and Paisley (109, 113).

Under the year 1207 we find in M., 'Florence, elect of Glasgow, by leave of our lord the Pope, resigned his cure.'

<sup>1</sup> [As bishop of Glasgow he attended the legatine council at Perth in Dec. 1201 (charter, *penes* earl of Moray).]

<sup>2</sup> If we accept the above statements we can assign the year to a charter of King William (R.M. 13) which gives only the day of the month (26 Dec.). It is witnessed by 'Willelmo electo Glasguensi, cancellario meo.' The year must be 1199, and not 1200 as given by Cosmo Innes in the *Tabula*, p. iv (R.M.).

<sup>3</sup> Florence III., in 1189, followed the Emperor Frederick in the Crusade. He exhibited great gallantry at the siege of Damietta. He died at Antioch, 1 Aug. 1190.

See also Sc. viii. 66. That he was never consecrated and that he resigned, before Dec. 1207 (see next entry), is certain; and a confirmation of his never having been consecrated is found in a Bull of Pope Innocent III., in which he refers to 'Florentio quondam Glasguensi electo.' This Bull is dated 15 May, in the tenth year of the pontificate, that is, 15 May, 1207 (Paisley, 428).

We are ignorant why Florence remained unconsecrated for five years, and why he resigned.

**WALTER.** Chaplain of the king. Elected 9 Dec. 1207 (M.). Consecrated at Glasgow by leave of the pope on the day of the commemoration of faithful souls (2 Nov.) 1208 (M.; and Sc. viii. 68). Note that All Souls' Day fell in 1208 on a Sunday. He went to Rome in 1215 to the fourth Lateran Council and returned 'in the third year' (M.). Pope Honorius III. sent a mandate (6 June, 1218) to the chapter of Glasgow and clergy to recognise as their bishop and pastor the bishop of Glasgow, who in the time of the wars between England and Scotland had so acted as to be excommunicated, he having now been absolved by the pope (C.P.R. i. 55). Serious charges against the bishop were made by Master William, apparently one of the canons (*de gremio Glasguensis ecclesiae*); and Honorius III., on 7 Dec. 1219, wrote to the legate Pandulf, elect of Norwich, to investigate them. It was alleged that when the bishop was chaplain to the king he gave Philip de Valone, chamberlain of the king, 100 merks, and promised a larger sum to the queen, that they might induce the king to give him the bishopric of Glasgow; and that accordingly he was promoted without canonical election. Various other charges against him of corruption, and nepotism, and of his allowing his household to live immoral lives were added; and Pandulf was directed to commission discreet men in Scotland to investigate the charges and to report to the pope (T. No. 29). Presumably the charges were found to be unproved, for we hear no more of them.<sup>1</sup>

He died in 1232 (M.). His death must have been after 19 May, 1232, for on that day he granted a charter (Kelso,

<sup>1</sup>[W. bishop of Glasgow, attended a council at Dundee in 1230 (agreement, *penes* earl of Moray).]

229, 333) and a confirmation (Dryburgh, 40). The feast of St. Potenciana and the feast of St. Dunstan both fell on the same day, the 19 May, so that though the style of the drafting is different, the date of the two charters is the same.

The bishop had a brother Simon (R.G. i. 73).

Charter evidence is abundant for Walter.

**WILLIAM DE BONDINGTON.** (By an error of transcription, 'Hondyngton' in the MS. of Fordun, in the library of the University of Edinburgh. Sc. vol. ii. p. 59.) Chancellor of the king, to which office he had been appointed in 1231 (Sc. ix. 48). He had formerly been clerk of Thomas the chancellor (*ib.*). He had been rector of Eddleston, prebendary of Glasgow, and archdeacon of Lothian (K.).

He was elected to Glasgow in 1232 (M.)<sup>1</sup> and after 19 May (see last entry). [The charter evidence points rather to 1233 as the date of his election, see footnote.] He is elect in June, 1233 (Kelso, 309), and in July, 1233 (Arbroath, 75), 9 July (xix year of the king), 1233 (Cupar, i. 326), and in August, 1233 (Melrose, 204).

He was consecrated in the cathedral of Glasgow on Sunday, 11 Sept. 1233, by the bishop of Moray, Andrew de Moravia (M.). Hence the Sunday after the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (17 Sept.), 1245, is in the thirteenth year of his episcopate, not, as stated in Kelso (231), the twelfth.

William, bishop of Glasgow, and chancellor, witnesses a charter to Cupar by Alexander II., 1 June, 1235 (*Oliphants in Scotland*, 3). On 4 May, 1235, he consecrated the burial-ground of the Franciscans (the Friars Minor) of Roxburgh (Kelso, No. 418).

In 1244, 7 June, he witnessed a charter of Alexander II., and is styled 'camerarius noster' (*Blackfriars of Perth*, 4). Is this an error for 'cancellarius'? On 18 July, 1244, William sanctions the founding a religious house of the Order of Paisley in Carrick at Corsragmol (Crossraguel) (Paisley, 424).

<sup>1</sup> [He appears as William de Bondington, chancellor, from 30 March, 1231 (North Durham App. No. 126) to 11 April, 1233 (Balmerino, 31). He is elect of Glasgow and chancellor from 7 June to 17 Aug. 1233 (Kelso, 309; May, 13); bishop and chancellor, 12 Oct. 1233 (Arbroath, i. 84, 92).]

On 20 Sept. 1255 he was removed from the king's council (A.P. i. 419).

William granted a charter dated Ancrum, the morrow of St. Laurence (*i.e.* 11 Aug.), 1258 (R.G. i. 166); and on St. Leonard's Day, 6 Nov. 1258, also at Ancrum, he, with consent of the chapter, granted the privileges and customs of Sarum to the cathedral of Glasgow (*ib.*). Four days later he was dead. He died on the vigil of St. Martin (*i.e.* 10 Nov.), 1258, and was buried at Melrose on St. Brice's Day (13 Nov.) near the great altar (M.). Sc. (x. 11) concurs as to the year, but is silent as to the day.

He appears frequently in charters. He is described as *vir dapsilis et liberalis in omnibus* (Sc. x. 11). His buildings at his cathedral are said to be *miro artificio lapideo* (*ib.*). He was a liberal benefactor of his cathedral.

A few other particulars from the Vatican records may be added.

1235, 25 May. Pope Gregory IX. grants the bishop of Glasgow and his successors an indult that neither they nor their clerks should, against their will, be summoned out of Scotland by apostolic letters, unless such letters make mention of this indult (T. No. 79).

1238, 21 July. The same pope grants an indult to the bishop of Glasgow that he shall not be summoned by papal letters beyond the realm of Scotland to appear before judges, a previous indult to this effect being evaded by his adversaries (C.P.R. i. 175).

1255, 14 May. Pope Alexander IV. commissions the prior of the Preaching Friars of Glasgow to dispense the bishop of Glasgow of a vow he had made not to eat flesh in his own house. On account of old age and weakness the vow is to be commuted into alms and other works of mercy (T. No. 175).

Bondington and the bishop of St. Andrews, summoned by Gregory IX. (9 Aug. 1240) to attend a general council at Rome (C.P.R. i. 195), set out in December; but, together with many prelates of England and France, were compelled to return home (1241) by the Emperor Frederick II. They sent proctors to the pope to explain the situation (M.; Sc. ix. 56).

*NICHOLAS DE MOFFAT* (Muffet): archdeacon of Teviotdale, to which office he had been appointed in 1245 (*Lanercost*, 53).

He must have been elected, or perhaps, to speak more strictly, 'postulated' (see B.C. i. No. 2158), soon after the death of his predecessor, for after, that is, soon after, 2 Feb. 1258-9, he set out to the Apostolic See for confirmation. This he failed to secure, as well because he was unwilling to pay the money demanded of him by the pope and cardinals, as because those of the canons who had gone with him to support his claim turned against him, more particularly R(obert) elect of Dunblane, who thought that if the election of Nicholas was quashed, he could easily obtain the bishopric of Glasgow. Nicholas returned to Scotland in 1259 (M.; Sc. x. 11).

As regards the temporality, the see of Glasgow was void at Martinmas, 1259, and at Whitsunday, 1260 (E.R. i. 6). But before the latter date Cheyam had been appointed by the pope.

*JOHN DE CHEYAM* (Chiham, Chyum, Cheam): archdeacon of Bath (B.C. i. No. 2158) and papal chaplain (T. No. 225). 'Vir de australi Anglia oriundus, sed Angliae nimis infestus' (*Lanercost*, 65). 'Vir eximie scientie' (*Extr.* 109).

Appointed by the pope at least as early as 13 June, 1259 (B.C. i. No. 2158). There was no election by the chapter after the pope's quashing Moffat's election. He was consecrated apparently at the Roman court (M.; see also *Lanercost*, 65, *Extr.* 103, and B.C. i. 2182).

The appointment was disagreeable to the king, and rendered more disagreeable in consequence of the letters for the execution of Cheyam's provision having been addressed to the bishops of Lincoln and Bath. The king represented his wishes to the pope, probably early in 1260, for Pope Alexander IV. writes to the king (21 May, 1260) refusing to consent to the petition of the king that he would revoke the provision of 'John de Cheam, bishop of Glasgow.' The pope adds that he did not desire to do anything contrary to the custom of the kingdom in regard to the temporality, and asks for a safe-conduct for Cheam that he may take the oath of fealty to the king, and obtain the temporality (T. No. 225). Among the documents found in the castle of Edinburgh in 1282 was a Bull of the pope directing

John de Chiham to render fealty to the king before receiving the temporality (A.P. i. 108).

*Lanercost*, which is written by a friend of Moffat, tells a story, the point of which is that John, bishop of Glasgow, always preached piety, but never practised it (p. 53).

Cheyam came to Scotland by leave of the king, and is enthroned, 1260 (M.).

On 26 Oct. 1261, the pope commands Master Albert de Parma, papal writer, to induce the bishop of Glasgow to pay 200 merks, due by the bishop to the college of cardinals, and apparently to cause him to be excommunicated if payment was not made (C.P.R. i. 380). These 200 marks made the balance of 800 marks, of which 600 had been paid by the bishop to the pope before 9 Feb. 1261-2, when the threat of excommunication had been held over him (*ib.* 384).

John was employed by King Alexander to reconcile his mother Marie de Coucy with her second husband, Jean de Brienne, called 'd'Acre,' son of John, 'king of Jerusalem,' from whom she had fled to Scotland (Sc. x. 25).

John is at Ancrum in Oct. 1264 (Kelso, 275). He witnessed the treaty made at Perth, 2 July, 1266, between Alexander III. and Magnus, king of Norway (A.P. i. 421).

Cheyam not being in happy relations with the canons of his cathedral, who resented his intrusion, retired abroad in 1267 (Sc. x. 24). He died at Meaux, and there was buried in 1268 (M.). His death was after St. Barnabas' Day (11 June), on which day, 1268, he granted at Tournay a charter conveying land for the support of three chaplains in the cathedral at Glasgow (R.G. i. 178-9).<sup>1</sup>

*NICHOLAS DE MOFFAT.* See above. On the death of John he is elected for the second time, in the year 1268 (Sc. x. 25). He died unconsecrated in 1270 (*ib.* 27). He is represented as bearing himself 'nimis proterve' towards the

<sup>1</sup> There are some notices of the early story of John de Cheam (presumably our bishop) in his early days in England in C.P.R. (i. 274, 279). Master John de Cheam, rector of Raikeull (or Rukeull) in the diocese of Lincoln, value 20 merks, is allowed by Pope Innocent IV. (21 Aug. 1251) to hold an additional benefice. He is a papal chaplain on 29 Aug. 1252.

monks and other ecclesiastical persons (Sc.). But a somewhat more favourable account is given by the writer of this part of the *Chronicle of Lanercost*, who says that as archdeacon he was one 'qui semper rixaretur et nunquam irasceretur.' The writer says that he officiated at his funeral, which took place in the archdeacon's church of Tinigham (*sic*). (*Lanercost*, 53.)

**WILLIAM WISCHARD** (Wiscard, Wiseheart, Wisheart and other variants) : archdeacon of St. Andrews, and chancellor of the king, and holder of twenty-two benefices (Sc. x. 27-8). Elected, 'ad instanciam regis,' on the death of Moffat. He was still 'elect of Glasgow' when on 2 June, 1271, he was elected to St. Andrews. Consecrated 15 Oct. 1273. [See under St. Andrews.]

**ROBERT WISCHARD.** Nephew (*nepos*) of William Wischard (M.). Cousin (*consanguineus*) of William Wischard (Sc. x. 29) : archdeacon of Lothian, 'juvenis aetate sed moribus senior' (*ib.*). Elected, apparently, in 1271; but not consecrated till Sunday before the feast of the Purification, 1272-3, that is, on Sunday, 29 Jan. The consecration was at Aberdeen by the bishops of Dunblane, Aberdeen, and Moray (Sc. x. 30). We have a precept of 'R. by divine mercy humble servant of the church of Glasgow,' dated 28 Nov. 1273 (R.G. i. 186).

The important and stirring part played by this prelate in public affairs after the death of Alexander III., and more particularly in the contest with Edward I. of England, gives him a prominent place in the history of his time. On 11 April, 1286, he was chosen, at Scone, as one of the six guardians of the realm (Sc. xi. 1, 3). He was one of the three guardians who served in settling the treaty with the plenipotentiaries of Eric, king of Norway, at Melrose, 3 Oct. 1289 (*Fæd.* i. 713). He was a leading figure at Brigham (a village on the north bank of the Tweed between Kelso and Coldstream) on the occasion of the framing of the treaty with England, 17 March, 1289-90, and 18 July, 1290 (A.P. i. 441; *Fæd* i. 735 *sq.*). After the death of the Maid of Norway he appears, like so many others, in the position of one frequently making oaths of fealty to Edward I., and frequently breaking his oaths (see Palgrave's *Documents and Records Illustrating the History of Scotland*; Stevenson's *Historical Documents Illustrative*

of the *History of Scotland*, 1286-1306, and *Fœdera*). He joined the armed rising of William Wallace in 1297; yet on 9 July, 1297, he became surety for the loyalty and good behaviour of Bruce (*Fœd.* i. 868; *Palgrave*, 199). He surrendered himself at Roxburgh, a prisoner to Edward, in the same year (Hemingford, edit. Hearne, i. 124). On 27 June, 1299, Boniface VIII. wrote to Edward, saying that he had heard that he had imprisoned and harshly treated Robert, bishop of Glasgow, Mark, bishop of Sodor, and other ecclesiastics, and urges their release (*Sc. xi.* 38). How long Robert continued a hostage is not very clear, but his release was before he took, in the most solemn manner, for the fourth time, the oath of allegiance to Edward, 7 Oct. 1300, at Holmcultram (*Fœd.* i. 924; *Palgrave*, 344). Soon after he again joined Bruce and Wallace with an armed force. Pope Boniface VIII., now taking the side of Edward, wrote to Robert, bishop of Glasgow, rebuking him for his opposition to the king of England and bidding him repent, 13 Aug. 1302 (T. No. 372).

On the defeat of the Scots, Robert, bishop of Glasgow, came to Edward at Cambuskenneth and prayed for forgiveness, again took the oath of fealty, and received from Edward the temporality of Glasgow, which he had forfeited, 5 March, 1303-4 (*Palgrave*, 345).<sup>1</sup> At the following Easter he for the sixth time swore fealty to Edward at the high altar of St. Andrews Cathedral. It was Robert who, within eight days, absolved Bruce for the murder of Comyn (10 Feb. 1305-6). And he went heartily with the party of Bruce when he was crowned at Scone (27 March, 1306). He supplied from his own wardrobe the vesture in which Bruce was attired at his coronation. Soon after the battle of Methven (19 June, 1306) the castle of Cupar in Fife fell into the hands of Edward's troops, and among those captured was Robert, bishop of Glasgow. He was sent in his coat of mail to Newcastle-on-Tyne, and thence to the castle of Nottingham. Edward I. gave orders (7 Aug. 1306) that he should be kept in chains at Porchester Castle (Hampshire). He remained a captive in England till after the battle of Bannockburn, although Pope Clement V.

<sup>1</sup> [For the remainder of the paragraph the authorities are *Palgrave* and *Fœdera*.]

petitioned the king for his release (9 April, 1308). Edward II. besought the pope (1 Feb. 1310-11) to arrange that Robert should never return to Glasgow. On 20 Nov. 1313 Edward II. ordered that Robert should be imprisoned and kept at his own cost in the convent of Ely. After Bannockburn, Edward, at York, ordered Robert to be brought to him. Robert was exchanged for Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, the king ordering Robert (2 Oct. 1314) to be conveyed to Carlisle. Barbour (Scottish Text Soc. edit. i. 349) says that the bishop was now blind.

Robert is at Glasgow 30 June, 1315 (Melrose, 393), and on the Friday after St. Mark's Day (30 April), 1316 (R.G. No. 263).

He died 26 Nov. 1316 (Spottiswoode, i. 222). What early authority?

He was buried in his cathedral between the altars of St. Peter and St. Andrew (*ib.*).<sup>1</sup>

During the struggle for Scottish independence in the days of Bruce, the action of successive popes was consistently in favour of the kings of England. But sometimes requests were made which the popes did not consent to grant. Thus the efforts of Edward I. to induce the pope to substitute another for Robert Wischard, bishop of Glasgow, were unavailing. On 4 Oct. 1306, Edward wrote to Clement V. beseeching him to make his (the king's) clerk, Master Geoffrey de Moubray, bishop of Glasgow in place of 'the traitor' Robert Wischard. We hear no more of it. The letter is printed in full in Prynne's *History* (p. 1157).

In a writ of Robert I., dated 26 April, 1309 (R.G. i. 220), Master Stephen de Donydouer, canon of Glasgow and chamberlain of the king, makes his appearance (with Bernard, the

<sup>1</sup> On 11 May, 1306, Pope Clement V. sent a mandate to the archbishop of York to cite Robert, bishop of Glasgow, suspended from spirituals and temporals, to set out for Rome within a month. On 13 May the pope wrote to the archbishop to seize Robert and keep him in custody, obtaining for him, if he desire it, a safe-conduct from the king. The like letter was sent to Anthony, bishop of Durham (C.P.R. ii. 6, 7).

chancellor) as vicar and *locum tenens* of Robert, bishop of Glasgow, then suffering chains, imprisonment, and persecutions 'borne patiently for the rights of the Church and of our realm of Scotland.' He appears as bishop-elect some seven years later.

*STEPHEN DE DONYDOUER* was probably elected in Dec. 1316, or early in 1317. He was elected *concorditer*, and went to the Apostolic See to obtain confirmation. The pope despatched him to Scotland, without confirmation, *in prosecutione quorumdam negotiorum*. On his journey he died at Paris (T. No. 424). On 13 July, 1317, Edward II. thanks the pope for having refused to accept, as bishop of Glasgow, Stephen de Donydor, a Scot (*Fæd.* ii. 337). Stephen's death must have been at latest early in Aug. 1317, for on 18 Aug. 1317, on the death of Master Stephen, the pope reserves to his own provision the see of Glasgow (C.P.R. ii. 132).

After the death of Donydouer we find Keith much confused. He introduces a John Wiseheart, for whom at this time there is, so far as I know, no evidence. He appears later. Cosmo Innes (R.G. i. p. xxxvi) is no less puzzled. But more recently published documents clear the matter up, and they reveal the appointment by the pope (John XXII.), before 17 July, 1318 (T. No. 424), at the request of the king of England (C.P.R. ii. 426), of

**JOHN (DE EGGLIESCLIFFE)**, penitentiary of the pope, of the Order of Preaching Friars. Appointed and consecrated, at command of the pope, by Nicholas (Alberti, a Dominican), bishop of Ostia, at Avignon before 17 July, 1318 (T. No. 424). The letter printed by T. states that, on the death of Stephen de Dundore, the chapter of Glasgow, 'perchance ignorant' of the pope having reserved the appointment to himself, had elected John de Lindesay canon of that church. The pope declared such election, as being contrary to his reservation, null and void. John de Lindesay had himself gone for confirmation to the Apostolic See. The pope, after declaring the election null, 'to avoid too long a vacancy of the see,' provided John, his penitentiary (*i.e.* Egglecliffe), to the bishopric. It is interesting to note that the customary concurrent Letters were addressed, not to the king of Scots, but to Edward, king of England. King

Robert complained that an English preaching friar had been placed by the pope in the see of Glasgow, for the pope replies to his objections on 16 Aug. 1320 (C.P.R. ii. 427; compare 428). The pope's letter is addressed to 'Robert calling himself king of Scotland.' In Scotland this appointment seems to have been disregarded; for the see is spoken of as void, 3 Feb. 1318-9, Paisley, 238; July, 1321, Melrose, No. 387;<sup>1</sup> Christmas, 1321, Arbroath, i. 213-4; and 31 Dec. 1321, Dunfermline, 245.

The new bishop, who is doubtless Egglescliffe (not Wischard, as Mr. Bain supposes; see Index to vol. iii. of his *Calendar*), writes (through the king of England) to the pope, saying that he gets nothing from his bishopric, and hoping that the pope will overlook the non-payment of the *servitia* due to the pope and the cardinals. This is at the end of March, 1323, and before the Bulls of his translation could have reached him (B.C. iii. No. 808). He had represented to the pope that he was unable, *ex certis causis*, to govern and instruct the flock committed to his care (T. No. 448).

Before 15 March, 1322-3, he was translated by the pope to the see of Connor in Ireland (*ib.*). But he was not to remain there long, for he seems to have been translated to Llandaff on 20 June, 1323 (C.P.R. ii. 232). Gams assigns the translation of John de Egglescliffe to Connor to the year 1322, but this is obviously an error.

There is a parish called Eaglescliffe in the county of Durham.

An indulgence granted by John, relying on the merits of the blessed Virgin, St. Dominic, and 'St. Kentigern, bishop, our patron,' on 6 Jan. 1320-21, is in 'the third year of our pontificate' (Brackley Charters at Magdalen College, Oxford).

Egglescliffe's seal (pointed oval) represents, under tabernacle work, a bishop fully vested, with mitre, and pastoral staff in his left hand, the right hand being raised in benediction. On the dexter side is a shield bearing the three lions (or leopards) of England; on the sinister side a shield bearing an eagle (?). The

<sup>1</sup> The chapter of Glasgow express themselves cautiously: 'Cum non sit episcopus ad quem possit haberi recursus.'

legend is s. FR[ATR]IS IOHANNIS DEI GRA[TIA] GLASGUENSIS EPISCOPI.

Chalmers (*Caledonia*, iii. 619) cites the Harleian manuscripts for John, elect of Glasgow, being present at King Robert's Parliament at Scone, 3 Dec. 1318. This, of course, was John de Lindesay.

**JOHN DE LINDESAY**, canon of Glasgow. For his election (quashed) about the year 1317, see last entry. He was now provided by the pope to the see, void by the translation of John de Egglescliffe to Connor, on 15 March, 1322-3 (T. No. 448). He was consecrated (at Avignon ?) at command of the pope, by Vitalis (de Furno), bishop of Albano, before 10 Oct. 1323, when he was commanded to betake himself to his diocese (T. No. 451). We find John, bishop of Glasgow, at the General Council at Scone on Thursday before the Annunciation (21 March), 1324 (*i.e.* 1324-5), where he defended himself for conferring at the king's command a prebend reserved by the pope (R.G. No. 270). John was at Cambuskenneth 22 Nov. 1325, and 22 Feb. 1325-6 (Cambusk. Nos. 146, 147). He was in Parliament at Scone in 1326 (A.P. i. 483). That he was 'de Lindesay' we gather from a charter of his successor, Bishop William (Rae), where he speaks of his predecessor, 'John de Lindesay, bishop of Glasgow' (Kelso, No. 501), doubtless to distinguish him from John Wischard, the immediate successor of Lindesay. He is in Edward Balliol's Parliament of 1333-4, and he, with the bishops of Dunkeld and Aberdeen, witness a grant of King Edward Balliol to Edward III. of England, 12 Feb. 1333-4 (A.P. i. 542).

There is a charter of John, bishop of Glasgow, in Kelso (No. 486) [dated 5 May, 1329], which must be John de Lindesay's.

His seal (pointed oval) exhibits a bishop, under a canopy of tabernacle work, with at the sides two shields; over the dexter shield a salmon, over the sinister a bird. The dexter shield bears the arms of De Coucy; the sinister shield bears an orle vair surmounted of a bend (Lindsay). It is figured in Laing and R.G. See Macdonald's *Scottish Armorial Seals*, No. 1669. The connection of the family of De Coucy with that of Lindsay will be found in the *Scots Peerage* (Balfour Paul), vol. iii. p. 5, article

‘Crawford’; but who the bishop was is not apparent.<sup>1</sup> There is mention of this seal being lost, and of the two shields, one bearing the arms of the noble man ‘Willelmi de Coucyaco,’ and the other bearing the bishop’s arms (R.G. No. 271).

John de Lindesay died about 15 Aug. 1335 (not in 1337 as stated in *Lanercost*, 291). The see was treated as void 8 Feb. 1335-6 (R.G. No. 286), where John is ‘nuper episcopus Glasguensis.’ With this before him it is strange that Cosmo Innes should in the Preface (R.G. p. xxxvii) assign his death to 1337, following the inaccurate reasonings of Hailes (*Annals*, s.a. 1337). It is absolutely certain that Lindesay did not die in Aug. 1337, for his successor, John Wischard, was consecrated before 16 Feb. 1336-7. That John, ‘nuper Glasguensis episcopus,’ was John de Lindesay there can be no doubt, for he is represented in the charter (R.G. No. 286) as confirming a grant made by ‘Edward (Balliol), king of Scots,’ to Holmcultram.

There is an account of the death of Lindesay in Walsingham (*Hist. Reg. Angl.* s.a. 1335). Two ships from Flanders, with many Scots on board, were taken by the English, under the command of the earls of Salisbury and Huntingdon. Among the prisoners were several men of distinction (including the bishop of Glasgow) and several noble ladies. The bishop was mortally wounded in the head, and died. *Lanercost* gives a more sentimental account, stating that the bishop and some of the noble ladies were so affected by grief that they refused to eat or drink, and died before the ships made the land. Their bodies were buried at Wytsande in England. I do not know what place is intended, but there is a Whitsand Bay in the south-east of Cornwall. This place, however, is very remote from the course which would have been taken by ships sailing from Flanders to Scotland (unless indeed the Scottish port intended as the place of landing was on the west coast), and perhaps some other place is meant.

<sup>1</sup>[In 1315-6 he describes himself as heir of the deceased Sir Philip de Lyndesay in the barony of Staplegorton (Morton, ii. 17). This seems to make him either son or grandson of John de Lyndesay who was chamberlain of Scotland under Alexander III. See *Scots Peerage*, iii. 8 (note communicated by the Rev. John Anderson).]

As we have seen, the see was void 8 Feb. 1335-6, and it continued void till Feb. 1336-7: see next entry.

**JOHN WISCHARD** (Wiseheart, Wyscard, Wishard), archdeacon of Glasgow (John Wischard was archdeacon of Glasgow in 1321 and 1325, R.G. 228, 233, 234, and probably much earlier), who had been elected (the see being void by the death of John), *per viam compromissi*, resorted for confirmation to the Apostolic See. The election was confirmed, and, by order of Benedict XII., John was consecrated, apparently at Avignon, by Annibald (de Ceccano), bishop of Tusculum, probably a few days before 16 Feb. 1336-7 (T. No. 540).<sup>1</sup> Concurrent letters to David, king of Scots.

John Wischard's episcopate was brief. The see was void 11 May, 1338 (Melrose, No. 450), by the death of John (see next entry).

The succession of three bishops bearing the same name, John, makes the testing clauses of charters, and such-like evidence, of little value in determining the identification of each. Keith, Cosmo Innes, and Grub were each suffering from the disadvantage of having written before the appearance of Theiner and C.P.R.

If this John Wischard is to be identified with the John Wiseheart, 'quondam archidiaconum Glasguensem,' who was a prisoner of the king of England at Conway, Chester, and the Tower of London in 1310 (*Fæd.* ii. 106), he must have been an old man when he was appointed bishop in Feb. 1336-7.

**WILLIAM RAE** (Raa), precentor of Glasgow, elected *corditer*, *per viam compromissi* (the names of the *compromissarii*, five in number, are given) on the death of John. Confirmation of his election by Benedict XII. 22 Feb. 1338-9 (E. gives 20 Feb.), who had caused him to be consecrated by Annibald (de Ceccano), bishop of Tusculum (T. No. 543), apparently at Avignon.<sup>2</sup>

William's episcopal rule was long. He died 27 Jan. 1367 (Martyrology, as corrected by Cosmo Innes, R.G. p. 615), *i.e.* 27 Jan. 1366-7: see next entry.

<sup>1</sup> [Eubel, and C.P.R. ii. 540, date the letter 17 Feb.]

<sup>2</sup> The name 'Peter, bishop of Glasgow,' to whom the pope addresses a letter on 5 Kal. Jan. 1339, must be an error (C.P.R. ii. 546).

Little is known about Rae. He was in Parliament 17 Sept. 1341 (A.P. i. 512) and in Council 26 Sept. 1357 (*ib.* 515). William is bishop 30 June, 1362 (R.G. 265), when a dispute between him and the chapter of Glasgow was submitted to arbitration; and 17 May, 1363 (Melrose, 435). He received from Clement VI. in June, 1350, an indult to choose his confessor, who shall give him, being penitent, plenary indulgence at the hour of death (C.P.R. iii. 369). In 1351 the bishop of Glasgow refused to induct Richard de Swynhope, whom the king of England had presented to the prebend of Auld Roxburgh (B.C. iii. No. 1558).

The name Rae is given on the authority of documents which were in the Scots College at Paris when Keith wrote his *Catalogue*. But note that Spottiswoode (i. 223) had already called him Rae; and that we have Willelmus Raa in the excerpts from the *Martyrology* (R.G. ii. 615).

**WALTER WARDLAW**, archdeacon of Lothian, canon of Glasgow, master in theology, in priest's orders, on 14 April, 1367, is advanced by Pope Urban V. to the see of Glasgow (T. No. 675; so also E.). The see, now void by the death of William, had been reserved by the pope, but an election (*concorditer*) of Wardlaw had taken place, and the election having been declared null, as being contrary to the reservation, the pope provides Walter to Glasgow 'by Apostolic authority.' Nothing is said of his consecration.

When, where, and by whom was Wardlaw consecrated?

[Walter, bishop of Glasgow, is one of those chosen to attend Parliament 27 Sept. 1367 (A.P. i. 501). As bishop he witnesses a royal charter 25 Feb. 1367-8 (Cambusk. No. 197), and often later.] He is with David II. at Stirling 4 July, 1368 (A.P. i. 532), presumably consecrated.

During the episcopate of Wardlaw, Scotland had to take sides in the question of the Great Schism, and it threw in its lot with those in after times reckoned the anti-popes. It was by Pope (anti-pope) Clement VII. that Wardlaw was made a cardinal priest (without title) 23 Dec. 1383 (E. i. 27). Holinshed (quoting from Onuphrius) had given this date correctly (Holinshed (edit. 1808) vol. 5). He observes that the Scottish histories make him cardinal 'somewhat before,' in the year 1382.

*Scotichronicon* (xiv. 49) in giving the year 1385 is in error. He is granted the next year (24 Nov. 1384) the powers of a legate *a latere* in Scotland and Ireland (C.P.R. iv. 251). At this date (the rule had ceased before Beaton was made cardinal) it was the rule that bishops on being made cardinals should vacate their bishoprics. Walter therefore ceased to be 'bishop of Glasgow,' but he was granted by the pope the administration of the diocese (see C.P.R. iv. 250). He does not after his appointment as cardinal style himself 'bishop of Glasgow,' but he still uses his old seal, and sometimes states expressly that he uses the seal he had used when he was bishop (Dunfermline, 414).

It may be remarked that cardinals without title (that is, not bearing the name of some church at Rome to which they were technically attached), though comparatively rare, were not infrequent in the medieval period. A list of such will be found in Eubel (i. 51). Alphonse Chacon (Ciaconius), in his great work, *Vitae et res gestae Pontificum et Cardinalium*, shows his entire ignorance as to Wardlaw by making him bishop of 'Glasconia sedes episcopal is in Anglia, vulgo Glastenbury' (tom. ii. 680).

We find the 'cardinal of Scotland' petitioning the pope for the archdeaconry of Argyll, on its voidance by the consecration of John, bishop elect of Argyll, and the petition was granted by Clement VII. on 30 May, 1387 (C.P.R. Pet. i. 568). Wardlaw died in 1387 (Sc. xiv. 50), yet it would appear after 30 May, for on 26 Oct. the pope grants the petition of Alexander Wardlaw, nephew of the late Walter, cardinal of Scotland, for the archdeaconry of Argyll, void by the death of the said cardinal (C.P.R. Pet. i. 568). Wardlaw's death may perhaps be placed early in September. It was not known at Avignon on 5 Oct. 1387 (C.P.R. iv. 255).

Wardlaw was at a conference on the Borders early in Sept. 1367, had safe-conduct as ambassador to England Oct. 1367 and Jan. 1367-8 (*Fœd.* iii. 831, 834, 840); and was an ambassador to England in June, 1369 (B.C. iv. No. 154). He was one of the plenipotentiaries for negotiating a truce with England in 1384 (*Fœd.* vii. 436).

A few particulars as to Wardlaw derivable from C.P.R. Pet. may be added here. In 1349 Master Walter de Wardlaw

(presumably the future bishop) appears in the roll of the University of Paris as one of the Masters of the English nation, petitioning for a dignity or office in the church of Aberdeen, notwithstanding that he has a canonry and prebend in Glasgow, and the church of Dunenach in the diocese of St. Andrews (p. 175). In 1359, 12 May, he is S.T.P. and rector of Erol, and is confirmed in the archdeaconry of Lothian, conferred on him by the ordinary (p. 325 ; compare p. 339). In 1378 he petitions for benefices for three nephews (548). He is in the same year designated as 'papal chaplain' (p. 550).<sup>1</sup>

Wardlaw was archdeacon of Lothian and secretary of King David II. 1 Jan. 1363-4 (R.M.S. p. 203). [He was archdeacon of Lothian in 1360 (*Rot. Scot.* i. 851).] We find him archdeacon in 1362 (R.G. No. 301).

After the death of Wardlaw there are large lacunae in the [published] Papal Registers, and for a time we are thrown back upon other sources for information, excepting a few notices in the volume of Petitions.

Wardlaw's seal exhibits a shield bearing arms : on a fess between three mascles as many crosses couped (Macdonald's *Armorial Seals*, No. 2840). The shield has supporters which Mr. Macdonald, with hesitancy, calls lions.

**MATTHEW DE GLENDONWYN** (Glendoning). Pope Boniface IX. provided (1 March, 1390-1) JOHN FRAMISDEN, a Friar Minor (see Nicolas, *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, i. 95, and C.P.R. iv. 383) ; but the anti-pope had anticipated this action, for it appears that Glendonwyn had succeeded shortly after the death of the cardinal. We find a Roll of his petitions granted on 21 Dec. 1387 (C.P.R. Pet. i. 569). He must have

<sup>1</sup> [From the *Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis* (vol. i., Paris, 1894) we learn that Wardlaw graduated (*determinavit*) at Paris in 1340 ; was often chosen procurator of the English nation between 1341 and 1345 ; was teaching at Paris (not continuously it seems) down to 1357 ; and, as bishop, visited Paris in 1370 and 1376, when the English nation sent deputations to him, the first time to ask him to lay before the pope their case against the French nation, the second time only 'sibi ex parte nacionis aliquam reverenciam exhibendo.' As rector of Erol he witnesses a charter of Duncan, earl of Fife to Lindores abbey, 17 Mar. 1350-1 (Lindores, Abbotsford Club, p. 45).]

been consecrated after 26 May, 1387; for 26 May, 1399, is in the twelfth year of his consecration (Melrose, 510); and 10 May, 1391, is in the fourth year of his consecration (R.G. 293); and, assuming that Wardlaw died in September, still later in the year or early in 1388. [He was consecrated before 24 Feb. 1387-8, for 24 Feb. 1402-3 is in the sixteenth year of his consecration (Melrose, 511).] He was holding the church of Cavers, in the diocese of Glasgow, at the time of his consecration (C.P.R. Pet. i. 573).<sup>1</sup> He had been presented to Cavers before 1376 by William, abbot of Melrose, and was instituted by John Lethi or Lechi, vicar general in spirituals of Walter, bishop of Glasgow. He was M.A. and B.C.L. (C.P.R. iv. 222).

He died, according to the Martyrology of Glasgow (R.G. ii. 615), on 10 May, 1408: see Paisley, 337 [a commission granted by him to Symon de Mundavilla (see footnote) on the very day of his death.]

Matthew is a witness to a charter of Robert II. at Edinburgh 10 April, 1389 (*Diplomata Scotiæ*, pl. 56). He pronounces a decree arbitral in a dispute between the monastery of Paisley and the rector of Cambuslang 17 Sept. 1394 (Paisley, 108). He confirmed an agreement 17 Oct. 1406 (Kelso, 414). He is present in Robert III.'s Parliament at Scone, 7 March, 1390-1; and again on 8 March, 1393-4 (A.P. i. 577, 580). He was conservator of the marches, July, 1390 (B.C. iv. No. 416); and a commissioner of peace with England, May, 1399 (*ib.* No. 519).

On 21 May, 1401, with the consent of the dean and chapter, he imposes a tax on the prebends of the cathedral (given in detail) to supply the deficiency of the *ornamenta*, more particularly copes, chasubles, dalmatics, etc. (R.G. i. No. 320).

He is a frequent witness of deeds under the Great Seal.

<sup>1</sup> Glendonwyn was not free from the nepotism so common in the ecclesiastical world of his day. In 1395 he petitions on behalf of his nephew, 'Simon de Mandavilla M.A. of noble origin,' for the canonry and prebend of Dorysdere in the church of Glasgow (C.P.R. Pet. i. 584). In 1394 he petitions for dispensations for two nephews, William and Adam Glendonwyn, the former aged 15, the latter aged 14, to hold benefices when they reached the age of 18. Which petitions Benedict XIII. granted (p. 614).

For his history before his elevation to the episcopate<sup>1</sup> we know that he had from the king of England a safe-conduct 29 Oct. 1377 (*Rot. Scot.* ii. 4). On the 7 April, 1386, Master Matthew de Glendonwyn acts as ambassador and receives a safe-conduct to Berwick-on-Tweed together with Adam de Glendonwyn 'chivaler' (*ib.* 81).

**WILLIAM LAWEDRE** (Lawdere, Lauder). Archdeacon of Lothian.<sup>2</sup> Doctor utriusque Juris (E.). His appointment by the Pope (anti-pope) Benedict XIII. was on 9 July, 1408 (E.). He probably went in person to the Apostolic See, and probably received consecration there. At all events we find that the king of England grants William Lawedre, bishop of Glasgow, a safe-conduct to return from France to Scotland through England, on 24 Oct. 1408 (*Rot. Scot.* ii. 189). He had probably not returned to Scotland till after Martinmas (see below). The 19 May, 1415, was in the seventh year of his consecration (R.G. ii. 314), which shows that he was consecrated between 9 July, 1408, and 19 May, 1409. As regards the Temporality, the see was vacant both at Whitsunday and Martinmas, 1408; but before 20 May, 1409, the bishop had been admitted to the Temporality, and by royal favour was granted half the fermes due at Martinmas 1408 (E.R. iv. 99). This suggests that his consecration had been in the summer, perhaps in July.

Lawedre was chancellor 8 Jan. 1421-2 (R.M.S. ii. 169), and so continued apparently till his death.

William Lawedre was uterine brother of Alexander Lawedre, appointed bishop of Dunkeld in 1440, who died before his consecration (Sc. xvi. 26): see under Dunkeld.

He was frequently employed in affairs of state (see B.C. iv.).

William, bishop of Glasgow, tests a charter of James I. at Edinburgh 10 July, 1424 (*Laing Charters*, No. 101). Lawedre

<sup>1</sup> [He was a graduate of Paris, procurator of the English nation, and rector of the University 1378 (*Auct. Chartul. Univ. Paris.* i. 566, 569).]

<sup>2</sup> He was son and heir of Robert de Lawedre and Anabella, his consort. For this and his foundations in the cathedral of Glasgow, see R.G. ii. 304-7. On a shield which appears in his episcopal seal is 'a griffin segreant' (Macdonald, *Scottish Armorial Seals*, No. 1552). These arms, Cosmo Innes says, show that he was of the ancient family of the Lauders of the Merse.

is alive on 27 May, 1425 (R.G. 318). Lawedre died 14 June, 1425 (R.G. ii. 616).

The see was still void 19 May, 1426 (*ib.* 319), that is, the information of the pope's provision of Cameron had not yet reached Scotland : see next entry.<sup>1</sup>

**JOHN CAMERON** (Cameroun, etc.). Canon of Glasgow ; licentiate in decrees (E.) ; provost of Lincluden ; secretary to the king ; official of St. Andrews.

Elect, provided by Martin V. 22 April, 1426 (E.). The provision states that the see was void by the death of William ; that it had been specially reserved by the pope ; that in ignorance of the reservation the chapter had elected John, a priest, a canon of Glasgow, who consented to the election, but who on learning of the reservation had caused the matter of the election to be set forth before the pope in consistory (C.P.R. vii. 478).

On 16 July, 1426, he was granted by the pope a faculty to be consecrated by any Catholic bishop, assisted by two or three others. His consecrator was to send John's oath of fealty to the pope (*ib.* 465).

We find him elect, confirmed of Glasgow 18 July, 1426, and as late as 18 Feb. 1426-7 (R.M.S. ii. Nos. 54, 81, 83).

Cameron was keeper of the Great Seal, 15 April to 2 May, 1426 (E.R. iv. 400, 428).

On 20 Sept. 1426 he made payment at the Apostolic See of one 'minutum servitium,' 113 gold florins and four shillings and sixpence, by the hand of another (B. 153). In paying his *taxa* he was allowed a 'dilatio' ; and on 15 July, 1432 (the figures are printed 1423 by Brady, but that must be an error), he paid 100 florins, and on 15 Oct. of the same year 700 florins (B. 154).

Consecration. As bishop and chancellor he grants a charter 1 Nov. 1427, in the first year of his consecration (R.M.S. ii. No. 2477) ; and as (see above) he was only elect confirmed on 18 Feb. 1427, his consecration must be placed between these two dates.

Martin V. on 6 May, 1430, states that because Cameron had

<sup>1</sup> Thomas de Lawedre, vicar of Erskyn, in the diocese of Glasgow, son of an unmarried man and an unmarried woman, the bishop's nephew, is dispensed by Martin V. to hold four other benefices (C.P.R. vii. 248). [See under Dunkeld.]

before his promotion to Glasgow incurred disability more than once, and perpetrated such crimes as to have forfeited all right to the said promotion, and by his action in Parliament after his promotion had been the author of statutes about collation to benefices, even reserved, which statutes were against ecclesiastical liberty and the rights of the Roman Church, and had collated to benefices simoniacally, he (the pope) had given a commission, *viva voce*, to two cardinals (named) to inform themselves. The cardinals judged him to be guilty, and cited him to the Apostolic See to hear and see his deprivation. Afterwards the orators of King James, sent for the purpose, set forth that many of the charges were untrue, and that if he had done amiss, Cameron was ready to make amends. At the king's request, on the promise of Cameron that he would help to obtain the abolition of the said statutes and behave laudably in the future, the pope absolves him from excommunication and other sentences, annuls the citation to the Apostolic See, rehabilitates him, and dispenses him on account of irregularity contracted (C.P.R. vii. 18).

The action of the Scottish Parliament here referred to and the bold line of James I. will be elucidated by a reference to Joseph Robertson's masterly Preface to *Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, pp. lxxxi, lxxxii. The passage cited above from the Calendar of Papal Registers would lead us to think that Robertson is incorrect in saying that the embassy to Rome of the king's orators (John, bishop of Brechin, and Alex. de Lawder, archdeacon of Dunkeld) commissioned on 6 Dec. 1429 was unsuccessful. But it would seem that Cameron got soon after into fresh difficulties with the Roman see.

On 23 March, 1429-30, Martin V., on petition of John and the dean and chapter, grants the parish church of Liberton in the diocese, value not exceeding £20, to the *mensa* of the canons. The daily distribution was so small that the canons would not reside (C.P.R. viii. 161).

The dispute with William Croyser, archdeacon of Teviotdale, acolyte of the pope, is complicated; <sup>1</sup> and the reader is referred

<sup>1</sup> The subject of the early stages of the dispute can be gathered from the judgment of the dean and certain canons of Glasgow in favour of the bishop, 14 Jan. 1427-8 (R.G. No. 332).

to the Preface of the *Stat. Eccl. Scot.* pp. lxxxiii-lxxxviii and Theiner (No. 745). It was not till 27 Dec. 1439 that Eugenius IV. commissioned Croyser to proceed to Scotland and absolve John, bishop of Glasgow, from all and singular the sentences of excommunication, suspension, and interdict, which he had incurred (T. No. 747).

John served on embassies to England in 1429, 1430, and 1431. It was intended in 1432 that he should be one of the representatives of Scotland at the Council of Basle; but the design was abandoned, and in Nov. 1432 he had a passport through England on his way to Rome. But this journey was not undertaken till Oct. 1433. On 15 May, 1435, Eugenius IV. at Florence requests a safe-conduct for a year for John, bishop of Glasgow, 'assistens ac referendarius noster,' who has to go from the Roman court to Scotland and for his retinue to the number of thirty (C.P.R. viii. 282). He is found in Bologna in July, 1436. He returned to Scotland before Sept. 1437, when he was appointed ambassador to England. In 1439 he ceased to be chancellor (J. Robertson in Preface to *Stat. Eccl. Scot.* p. lxxxii, note).

He died 24 Dec. (the night before Christmas) 1446 (R.G. 616) at his house of Lochwood, some seven miles from Glasgow (Spottiswoode, i. 223); at the castle of Glasgow (Roslin additions to *Extracta*, 238); 1446 'thar decessit in the castall of Glasgw Master Jhon Cameron bischop of Glasgw apon Zule ewyne' (*Auchinleck Chronicle*, p. 6).

Joseph Robertson dismisses with contempt the attempt to make the bishop a brother or cousin of the chief of clan Cameron. 'Contemporary records leave scarcely a doubt that he sprung from a burgher family of Edinburgh, deriving its name from the lands of Cameron in the neighbouring barony of Craigmillar' (*Stat. Eccl. Scot.* i. p. lxxxii).

Some references to charter evidence: it is probably the future bishop who appears as John Cameron, licentiate in decrees, and secretary of Archibald, earl of Wigton, 2 Dec. 1423 (R.M.S. ii. No. 13); provost of the collegiate church of Linclowdane and keeper of the privy seal, 25 Feb. 1425-6 (R.M.S. ii. No. 34).

George Buchanan's account of Cameron's death-bed (*Historia*, xi. c. 25) is based upon a probably untrustworthy tradition.

A shield on Cameron's seal bore arms: three bars (Macdonald's *Scottish Armorial Shields*, Nos. 322, 323). Attention may be called to an error in the assignment of the episcopal seals by the editor of the Bannatyne Club edition of R.G. The seal of John, pictured in Plate iii. No. 3 is not the seal of John Cameron, as stated, but of John Laing (1474-83). Cameron's arms, a shield bearing three bars, with two salmons, having rings in their mouths, as supporters, was sculptured on the great tower of the episcopal palace. The shield was placed over a pastoral staff, and is surmounted by a mitre with the initials I.C. in Gothic letters. This sculpture, from a pen and ink sketch made in 1752, is pictured in Gordon's *Scotichronicon*, ii. 501.

**JAMES BRUCE** (de Brois, Brewhouse), bishop of Dunkeld, and chancellor of Scotland; said to be a son of Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan (see Dunkeld). Compare his burial place (see below).

Translated to Glasgow, 3 Feb. 1446-7 (E.). Spottiswoode (i. 224) says the translation was in 1446, which is true of 1446-7.

He was probably elected very soon after the death of Cameron; he is styled bishop of Glasgow and chancellor, 19 June, 1447 (E.R. v. 258).

He died in 1447 at Edinburgh (Sc. xvi. 26), and, at latest, in the early autumn: see next entry. A deed dated 4 Oct. 1447 is executed *sede vacante* (R.G. 367). According to *Liber Pluscardensis* (lib. xi. c. 7) Bruce was buried at Dunfermline, in St. Mary's chapel (i. 381).

**WILLIAM TURNBULL** (Turnbol, Trumbil), who had been elect and confirmed to Dunkeld (see Dunkeld), was advanced to the bishopric of Glasgow in 1447 (Sc. xvi. 26). Eubel gives the date of the appointment at Rome as 27 Oct. 1447. On 13 Nov. 1447 Robert, bishop of Dunblane, proctor of William, elect of Glasgow, 'then translated from the church of Dunkeld to the church of Glasgow,' *obtulit* 2000 gold florins of the *camera* (B. i. 154).

Consecration: 30 Aug. 1448 is in the first year of his consecration (R.G. 369), and 1 Dec. 1453 is in the sixth year (ib. 399). He was consecrated, therefore, after 1 Dec. 1447,

and before the end of Aug. 1448.<sup>1</sup> He appears as bishop on 7 May, 1448 (R.M.S. ii. 1791). The *Auchinleck Chronicle* (pp. 25, 41) says: 'In that samyn yer (i.e. 1449) master William Turnbill said his first mess in Glasqw, the xx day of September.' For the loans made by merchants of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Dundee, and transmitted abroad for 'lifting the bulls' of Bishop Turnbull, see E.R. v. pp. 306, 310, 370.

He is in Parliament 18 July, 1454 (A.P. Supplement 23).

He died 3 Sept. 1454 (R.G. 616): at Glasgow according to the *Auchinleck Chronicle*, which document is, however, certainly incorrect as to the year, and possibly as to the month, in assigning his death to the year 1456, 3 Dec. (pp. 19, 55). The statement that he died at Rome is noticed later on.

On 24 Jan. 1449-50 Turnbull and seven other Scottish bishops, on their knees, supplicated James II. to abolish the evil custom of the king seizing on the *bona mobilia* of deceased prelates (A.P. ii. 37, 38). On the same day the king grants them leave to dispose by will of all their goods (R.M.S. ii. 307).

On 9 March, 1449-50, James II. granted to William, bishop of Glasgow, his heirs and assignees, 'pro cordiali affectione et singulari favore quem erga ipsum gessit et pro ejus fideli concilio et gratuitis servitiis' a tenement in Southgate, Stirling —which tenement had fallen into the king's hands through the forfeiture of Rob. de Levingstoune (R.M.S. ii. No. 327).

Turnbull procured the Bull of Nicholas V., bearing date 'Rome vii. Id. Jan. 1450 anno Incarnationis,' fourth year of Nicholas V., that is, 7 Jan. 1450-1, founding a *studium generale* (a university) at Glasgow. Bishop William (Turnbull) and his successors were to be 'Rectores, Cancellarii nuncupati.' The Bull is printed in Theiner (No. 758) and in R.G. (No. 361).

During his short episcopate Turnbull did much for Glasgow. Besides procuring the Bull for the erection of the university, James II., who boasts that he is a canon of the cathedral (R.G. No. 356), grants to the bishop of Glasgow and his successors, that they should hold the city and barony of Glasgow and the land commonly called Bishop's forest in

<sup>1</sup> [7 May, 1449, is in the second year of his consecration (Reg. House Cal. No. 474); so he must have been consecrated before 8 May, 1448.]

free regality: 20 April, 1450 (*ib.*). The brench was a red rose on the nativity of St. John Baptist, if asked.

With much labour and expense Turnbull procured a Bull, permitting the citizens [and the inhabitants of his diocese] to use butter and *lacticinia* instead of olive oil on certain fast days (R.G. No. 364). The date of the Bull is 26 March, 1451.<sup>1</sup> He procured also a Bull allowing, in the year of jubilee, the benefits of the jubilee indulgence to be granted to those visiting Glasgow cathedral. A third part of the offerings was to go to the repair of the cathedral (R.G. Nos. 359, 360).

Chalmers (*Caledonia*, iii. 622), without citing an authority, states that Turnbull's death took place at Rome. Pinkerton (*History of Scotland from the Accession of the House of Stuart*, i. 222) makes the same statement. Keith says, 'it seems that he (Turnbull) took a journey to Rome, where he died 3 Sept. 1454.' What is the authority for this? Perhaps Keith had no better evidence than the fact that William, bishop of Glasgow, and Master Andrew de Durisdere, dean of Aberdeen, received from Henry IV. a safe-conduct as being about to visit Rome, 27 July, 1453 (*Fæd.* xi. 343).

**ANDREW DE DURISDERE** (Durrisdur, Dursdeir, Dusdeir), or, in late writers, **MUIRHEAD**, dean of Aberdeen, subdean of Glasgow, canon of Lincluden, holding the church of Kirk-andris (Kirkanders), perpetual vicar of the church of Kilpatrick in the diocese of Glasgow (T. No. 772).

In Spottiswoode (i. 224), Keith, and Cosmo Innes (R.G. preface, p. xlvi) this bishop appears as Andrew Muirhead or Moorhead, I suppose on the authority of an entry in the Glasgow Martyrology (R.G. p. 616), where we read 'Obitus Andree Mureheid episcopi Glasguensis,' 20 Nov. 1473, 'qui fuit fundator collegii vicariorum chori Glasguensis.' This list of obits is from a MS. in the Advocates' Library, and was written after 1553. I think the name, as given in the Martyrology must be an error, for the evidence for Durisdere (or its variants) seems to be conclusive. There is the papal letter cited above (T. No. 772). Again, Bishop Lesley (*Historie*,

<sup>1</sup> [A like Bull had been granted to Bishop James Kennedy of St. Andrews for his city and diocese, 21 Feb. 1450-1 (*Reg. Vat.* 403. 89).]

Bannatyne Club edit., p. 37) speaks of 'Andrew Dusdeir bishop of Glasgow' in 1469. In the extracts from the old chronicle quoted by Pinkerton (*History*, Appendix, i. 502), under the year 1454, we read, 'Deit that bischoip William Turnbull, to quhome succedit bischoip Andrew Durrisdur.' But that there was a connection between the family of the bishop and the family of Muirhead is certain, for we find Thomas de Murhede clerk of the diocese of Glasgow, a *nepos* of Andrew, bishop of Glasgow, in Oct. 1460 (T. p. 454). See also note at the end of this entry on his heraldic arms.

Andrew de Durisdere,<sup>1</sup> subdean of Glasgow, was evidently a person much esteemed by Pope Nicholas V. (see the Bulls in R.G. Nos. 359, 360). He is associated with Bishop Turnbull in collecting and guarding the money offered at the high altar of Glasgow cathedral in the year of jubilee. We find Master Andrew de Durisdere as dean of Aberdeen in 1450, when, on 26 March, he (clerk and counsellor of James II.) was made procurator of the king for making requests at the court of Rome to Pope Nicholas V. (R.M.S. ii. No. 330) and in 1452 and 1453 (B.C. iv. p. 407 and No. 1263). [In 1451 he was sent as papal nuncio to Scotland (*Reg. Vat.* 414, 66).]

Writing to Andrew Stewart, brother of James, king of Scots [see under Moray], Pope Calixtus III., on 7 May, 1455, says that on that day he was providing to the church of Glasgow, Andrew de Dursder, dean of Aberdeen, and holding the various benefices enumerated above (T. No. 772). This is the date given by Eubel for Andrew's provision to Glasgow. On 28 May, 1455, Andrew offered *personaliter* 2500 gold florins and the customary five small *servitia*. He was accordingly at Rome at this date. He had (see last entry) received with Turnbull a safe-conduct (available for three years) in July, 1453.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [In 1437, having graduated as bachelor at St. Andrews (though his name is not to be found in the existing records of that university) he was admitted *ad eundem* in the university of Paris, and in 1438 he graduated in Paris as licentiate (*Auct. Chart. Univ. Paris.* ii. 501, 504).]

<sup>2</sup> [While in Rome he obtained several faculties and indults. On 19 June, 1456, a commission to him to depose simoniacal holders of benefices bears that he is about to proceed to Scotland on important business (*Reg. Vat.* 443, 266).]

Andrew was not (apparently) consecrated on 31 Jan. 1455-6 (T. No. 775). The date of his consecration can be fixed within tolerably narrow limits. The 16 Sept. 1457 was in the second year of his consecration (*Acta Dom. Conc. et Sess.* vi. 94), and 12 May, 1459, was in the fourth year of his consecration (R.G. 412). Hence he was consecrated between 16 Sept. 1455 and 12 May, 1456. But he was not consecrated on 31 Jan. 1455-6, therefore we can further limit the period within which his consecration took place.<sup>1</sup>

An interesting fact is brought to light by T. (No. 775): when Durisdere was provided to Glasgow he was only in minor orders, that is, he was not even a subdeacon.

To Andrew was addressed the Bull of Pius II. (23 Oct. 1460) authorising the annexation of the hospital at Soltray to the collegiate church of the Holy Trinity near Edinburgh: and as executor of the papal mandate he gave sentence on 6 March, 1461-2 (Marwick's *Charters relating to Trinity Church and Hospital*, pp. 3-13).

The bishop of Glasgow is a frequent figure in Parliament in 1464, 1467, 1468, 1469, 1471 (A.P. ii.). According to Bishop Lesley (*Historie*, p. 33) he was, on the death of James II., appointed one of the seven who made the council of regency.

Andrew was from time to time employed in affairs of state. He appears to have been one of the commissioners who treated for a truce with England towards the close of the year 1463 (*Fæd.* xi. 509). And again, at a later time, he was one of those who negotiated the prolongation of the truce with England. In 1468 he with others were sent to Denmark to treat of the marriage of James III. with Margaret, daughter of Christiern I., king of Denmark (Lesley, *Historie*, p. 37; Torfaeus, *Orcades*, 184-8).

In 1467 (16 May) Andrew ratifies and confirms certain grants of land and rents to the vicars of the choir of his

<sup>1</sup> Since the above was in type I have noticed a confirmation by Andrew (printed in Marwick's *Charters of the City of Glasgow*, ii. 453) dated 6 March, 1458-9, in the third year of his consecration. This shows that his consecration was after 6 March, 1455-6. [He is styled bishop by the pope 3 May, 1456 (*Reg. Lat.* 510, 245)].

cathedral (R.G. No. 391). On 29 Nov. 1469 Andrew, with the provost and bailies of Glasgow, obtained a judgment in their favour from the Lords Auditors against the provost and baillies of Dumbarton, who had impeded the purchase of wine from a Frenchman out of his ship in the Clyde (*Act. Audit.* 9).

In 1471 he founded an hospital for twelve old men, and a priest to celebrate divine service. The hospital was dedicated to St. Nicholas, and it was situated close to the bishop's castle at Glasgow (Chalmers' *Caledonia*, iii. 658).<sup>1</sup>

As late as 6 Aug. 1473 the bishop of Glasgow is found acting in the court of the Lords Auditors (*Act. Audit.* 28).

The obit-book, as we have seen, gives the date of the obit of 'Andrew Muirhead' (Durisdere), bishop of Glasgow, as 20 Nov. 1473; and this date fits in well with the appointment of his successor.

Hector Boece, in his *Vitae Episcoporum Aberdonensium* (p. 85 New Spalding Club edit.) makes blunders as to the founding of the university of Glasgow. He attributes it to 'Wilhelmo Dursdeir Episcopo.' But the fact is mentioned here because he evidently knew of a bishop of Glasgow called Dursdeir, though he gives him a wrong Christian name.

As bearing on the question of the name and family of Bishop Andrew, attention may be called to the heraldic arms appearing on a shield at the base of his round seal (see Plate ii. Fig. 5, R.G. vol. ii.), 'on a bend three acorns.' Acorns appear on the seal of Martin Murheid (A.D. 1542) (Macdonald's *Armorial Seals*, No. 2046). Whether it is an accidental circumstance or not, it may be observed that the final syllable 'dere' of the word 'Durisdere' is generally supposed to be the Celtic 'dair,' meaning an 'oakwood,' which may have suggested the use of acorns on the shield.

We find Andrew de Durisdere subdean of Glasgow in 1450 (R.G. Nos. 359, 360) and in 1452 (*ib.* No. 373).<sup>2</sup> In the latter year he was employed in affairs of state (*Fœd.* xi. 306).

<sup>1</sup> [See Renwick's *Glasgow Memorials*, 255 ff.]

<sup>2</sup> [He had papal provision of the subdeanery 17 June, 1449 (*Reg. Vat.* 409, 72), and of the deanery of Aberdeen 23 May, 1449 (*ib.* 224).]

It is to be noted that the parish (the rectory) of Durisdeer was a prebend of the cathedral of Glasgow ; but I have not been able to connect it with the subdeanery, the prebend of which was the parishes of Cader and Badermannoch (Monkland).

These facts are mentioned in view of what I think is a wholly unsupported conjecture, viz. that Andrew's name was Muirhead, but that he was known as Andrew of Durisdeer from the benefice which he held. There is no trace of any connection of Andrew with the possession of the parish of Durisdeer.

Andrew appears in the index of R.M.S. vol. ii. under 'Murehed' ; and it is not improbable that the name will stick, though there appears to be no contemporary evidence to support it.

**JOHN LAING** (Layng), of the family of Redhouse in the shire of Edinburgh (K.) : rector of Tannadice, in the shire of Angus, and vicar of Linlithgow (*ib.*). Rector of Newlands, in the diocese of Glasgow, at the date of his provision to Glasgow. Lord treasurer, in which post we find him in the year 1465.

It is a matter of highly exceptional rarity to find a bishop's Bull of Provision recorded in a Scottish cathedral register. We are so fortunate as to possess John Laing's (R.G. No. 402). It was addressed by Sixtus IV. to John Layng, elect of Glasgow, an expression which does not necessarily imply that there had been a capitular election ; and no mention is made of such an election in the Bull. The pope declares that during the life of Andrew he had reserved the appointment to himself. On the vacancy occurring through the death of Andrew, the pope appoints John, presbyter of the diocese of St. Andrews, and councillor of the king of Scots. Dated St. Peter's, at Rome, 28 Jan. 1473-4. Eubel gives the same date. In Jan. 1473-4, and probably on the 28th (the deed is imperfect), he receives leave to be consecrated by any Catholic bishop in communion with the Roman see (R.G. No. 403). On the 8 Feb. 1473-4 he pays 1339 florins, 14 shillings, and 3 pence, and on the following day the elect of Glasgow pays 1250 gold florins for *commune servitium*, and 89 florins, 9 shillings, and

3 pence, for one *minutum servitium*, and 67 florins, 4 shillings, and 9 pence, for three *minuta servitia* (B. i. 154). We have occasional examples when the *taxa* is not paid so promptly.

Though nothing is said about there having been a capitular election, the form was probably gone through, for we find that John is described as 'elect of Glasgow' on 19 Jan. 1473-4 (R.M.S. ii. 1153). Still, on 8 Feb. 1473-4 he is described simply as 'rector of Newlands, Treasurer of the King, and clerk of the Rolls and Register' (R.G. No. 400). The 'elect of Glasgow' is in Parliament 9 May, 1474 (A.P. ii. 106). He had an acquittance from the king for his accounts as treasurer 2 Dec. 1474 (R.G. No. 406), and a further acquittance 11 Oct. 1475 (*ib.* No. 408), and again, 3 Feb. 1475-6 (*ib.* No. 409). As to the date of his consecration, we have the evidence that 24 Feb. 1477-8 was in the fourth year of his consecration (R.G. No. 415). He therefore received consecration not long after his provision.

[He was secretary to Queen Mary of Gueldres in 1463, treasurer 1470-73, clerk register 1473; and] he appears as chancellor of the kingdom in 1482 (R.M.S.).

Laing died 11 Jan. 1482-3 (R.G. 615).

Those who are interested in Laing's occupancy of offices of state will consult the invaluable indexes of R.M.S.

In 1478 the king confirmed benefactions of Laing to St. Kentigern, 'our patron,' to Glasgow cathedral, and to the altar of St. Duthac in St. Giles' church, Edinburgh (*Regist. Cart. Eccl. S. Egidii*, p. 130).

There is other evidence that he had property in the burgh of Edinburgh. Six stones of wax annually for candles for the choir of Glasgow cathedral (9 Feb. 1481-2) were derived from the rent of two booths in Edinburgh (R.G. No. 427).

Laing's seal contained a shield bearing arms: 1st and 4th, a pale; 2nd and 3rd, three piles (Macdonald, *Scottish Armorial Seals*, No. 1535). It is pictured in R.G. vol. ii., but is wrongly assigned to John Cameron.

*GEORGE DE CARMICHEL* (Carmichael, Carmighell, Carmychell), treasurer of the cathedral of Glasgow. We find him rector of Tynninghame on 22 Sept. 1475 (Fraser's *Douglas Book*, iii. 106). Master George de Carmychell is rector of Flisk

in Fife,<sup>1</sup> and is in Parliament, 14 April, 1481 (A.P. ii. 134). He was treasurer of Glasgow 25 April, 1474 (R.M.S. No. 1169), 5 June, 1480 (R.G. No. 426), and frequently (see *Act. Audit.* and *Acta Dom. Conc.*).

For the family of which he was a member, see Sir J. Balfour Paul's *Scots Peerage*, article 'Carmichael, earl of Hyndford,' which differs from Wood's edit. of Douglas' *Peerage* as to his parentage.

Carmichael must have been elected by the chapter of Glasgow very soon after the death of the preceding bishop, for we find George, elect of Glasgow, witnessing 18 Feb. 1482-3 (R.M.S. No. 1560): and 'the elect of Glasgow' sitting in Parliament 1 March, 1482-3 (A.P. ii. 145). On 22 March, 1482-3 'George, elect of Glasgow,' witnesses a charter of James III. at Edinburgh (*Laing Charters*, No. 189). The king's orator at the papal court, George Browne, afterwards bishop of Dunkeld, urged the claims of Carmichael, but in vain (see Dunkeld).

On 13 April, 1483, Sixtus IV. declares the *de facto* election of George to be null and void as being contrary to his reservation of the see (T. No. 873), and in a lengthy document denounces, under the highest ecclesiastical censures, all who did not reject George and accept Robert (see next entry). There are expressions in the papal letter which seem to point to the duke of Albany as being a supporter of Carmichael; and it is not improbable that the pope, for political reasons, was opposed to his appointment. On 29 Nov. 1483, 'Dominus Georgius de Carmighell electus Glascuensis' received from Richard III., at the request of the king of Scots, a safe-conduct as a commissioner on state affairs (*Rot. Scot.* ii. 461). As late as 28 Feb. 1483-4 we find 'the elect of Glasgow' sitting as one of the Lords Auditors (*Act. Audit.* p. 137\*). The same had appeared on earlier occasions. This must, one cannot help thinking, be Carmichael.

Spottiswoode (i. 224) says that Carmichael died on a journey to Rome for confirmation of his election. If he went to Rome with a view to the deposition of Robert, which is highly improbable, and died on the journey, it cannot have been till the

<sup>1</sup>[It seems rather that he and the rector of Flisk are to be regarded as two different people. Alexander Lumsden, who was rector of Flisk in 1458 (R.M.S.), was still so in 1484 (*Acta Dom. Conc.* 102\*).]

year 1484. Carmichael seems to have been an associate of Archibald, earl of Angus (Bell-the-cat) in 1483 (*Douglas Book*, iii. 106) on whose council he appears 9 July (*ib.* 436).<sup>1</sup>

**ROBERT BLACADER**<sup>2</sup> (Blacadyr, Blacadir, Blakadir, Blakatar, Blaccater), bishop elect and confirmed of Aberdeen (provided to Aberdeen 14 July, 1480; E.).

He was translated to Glasgow 19 March, 1482-3 (E.). The denunciation of supporters of George (see last entry) is dated 13 April, 1483 (T. No. 873). Blacader is there styled by the pope 'our son': but on 20 May, 1483, he (now styled 'our brother') received from the pope a *littera passus*, he having come to Rome on the king's business and his own (T. No. 876). It would therefore seem that Blacader was consecrated at Rome on some day between 13 April and 20 May, 1483.<sup>3</sup> The see of Aberdeen is spoken of as void 12 June, 1483 (R.A. i. 315); the news of Elphinston's translation from Ross not yet perhaps having reached Aberdeen.

We find Robert, bishop of Glasgow, witnessing a royal charter at Edinburgh on 20 Nov. 1483 (R.B. i. 208).

Blacader, in 'prosecuting his translation' from Aberdeen to Glasgow at the Roman see, had dipped himself heavily in debt, and he resorted, with the help of a papal Bull (T. No. 882) dated 31 March, 1487, to compel, by ecclesiastical censures, regulars

<sup>1</sup> I have to thank Mr. Evelyn G. M. Carmichael, author of the article, 'Carmichael, earl of Hyndford,' in the *Scots Peerage*, for many references to 'George Carmichael,' the more important of which I have used above.

<sup>2</sup> From a charter of Rolland Blacader, subdean of Glasgow, nephew of the bishop, we learn that the bishop was a brother of Sir Patrick Blacader, of Tullieallan, knight (R.G. No. 495). He himself represented to Pope Sixtus IV. that he was 'de nobili genere ex utroque parente' (T. No. 868).

In 1494 'Patrick Blakater of Tullyalloun' had by assedation half the customs of Glasgow (*Act. Dom. Audit.* 197). In 1503 Sir Patrick is styled the brother-german of the archbishop (R.G. ii. p. 506).

<sup>3</sup> A writ of Robert's (printed in *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, i. 40) is dated 30 April, 1501, in the nineteenth year of his consecration. This further narrows the limits, and shows that his consecration must have taken place *before* 30 April, 1483.

as well as seculars to supply him with a 'benevolence' (*caritativum subsidium*), collegiate churches, and also monasteries, even those of Cluniacs and Cistercians (ordinarily exempt) being included in the demand. If what was collected in one year was not sufficient, he was entitled to make a second claim. He was also granted by the pope half of the first-fruits of all benefices in his diocese. A citation of Robert, at the instance of the dean and chapter, to appear at Rome within a hundred and twenty days by himself or by his proctor, in litigation as to first-fruits and other matters, dated 18 April, 1487, will be found in R.G. No. 448. He was abroad on 30 May, 1487 (the chancellor, archdeacon, and official were his vicars-general): see deed summarised in *Tenth Report of Hist. MSS. Commission*, App. i. p. 66.

*Steps which led to the erection of the church of Glasgow into a metropolitan church.* As is well known, the erection of St. Andrews into the archiepiscopal and metropolitan see of the whole kingdom (Bull of Sixtus IV. dated 17 Aug. 1472) was received with the strongest disfavour by the bishops of the other sees, and was highly distasteful to the king. The first effective opposition was made by the able prelate Thomas Spens, bishop of Aberdeen, who obtained from Pope Sixtus (14 Feb. 1473-4) a complete exemption for himself and his diocese, as long as he lived, from all jurisdiction of the archbishop of St. Andrews (T. No. 858). In 1487 (27 March) Innocent VIII. added a new dignity to the archbishop of St. Andrews: he was henceforward primate of all Scotland and *Legatus natus* (S.E.S. i. p. cxix). But the next year (25 May, 1488) the pope, to appease the contentions which arose between the archbishop of St. Andrews and Robert, bishop of Glasgow, exempted the latter and his diocese from all jurisdiction, visitation, and rule (even such as might arise by reason of the primatial and legatine dignity) of the archbishop of St. Andrews, so long as Robert lived (T. No. 885). The powerful see of Glasgow was not content with such a temporary favour. James IV., who held the honorary dignity of a canon of Glasgow, warmly espoused the cause of that see. Letter after letter was despatched by the king urging on the pope that Glasgow should be raised to a primacy like that of York in the Church of England. (These

letters will be found in substance in R. Brown's *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, i. pp. 199, 200, 203-6.)

The Scottish Parliament, 14 Jan. 1488-9, enacted the following statute : 'It is concludit and ordanit be oure souerane lord and his thre estatis that for the honour and gud public of the realme the sege of glasgw be erect in ane Archbisoprik with sic preuilegiis as accordis of law, and siclik as the archbisoprik of york has in all dignitez emunitis and preuilegiis as vse and consuetud is, and as salbe compakkit and aggreet betuix the said bischop of glasgw and the prelatis and baronis that Oure Souerane lord will tak with him to be avisit with, And that nane of the kingis liegis do in the contrar herof vnder the kingis Indignacioun and panis of brekin of his actis of Parliament' (A.P. ii. 213).

This act was communicated to the pope by the chancellor in the name of the 'Three Estates,' and the king again wrote to the pope urging that the bishop of Glasgow should be raised to the rank of metropolitan, primate, and *Legatus natus*.

*Erection of Glasgow into an archiepiscopal and metropolitan church.* It was during the episcopate of Blacader that Glasgow was raised by a Bull of Innocent VIII. (dated 9 Jan. 1491-2) to the dignity of a metropolitan church. Blacader became first archbishop, with the bishops of Dunkeld, Dunblane, Galloway, and Lismore (Argyll) as suffragans.<sup>1</sup> Another Bull, bearing the same date, addressed to the four suffragan bishops and commanding them to render obedience to the archbishop of Glasgow, is also printed (R.G. No. 458).

It has hitherto been uncertain when Dunkeld and Dunblane were restored to St. Andrews. But as regards Dunblane, there is a Bull of Alexander VI. dated 1499-1500, 5 Kal. Feb. anno 8 (*Reg. Lat.* 1065, fol. 130), in which, after citing the Bull for the erection of Glasgow into an archbishopric, it is added that at the instance of James, administrator of the church of St. Andrews, and with the consent of Robert, archbishop of Glasgow, the church of Dunblane is restored to its former subjection to St. Andrews. It will be observed that the dignities of the style primate and *Legatus natus* and the pall were not

<sup>1</sup> The Bull is printed in R.G. No. 457 and in T. No. 889.

granted ; but during the life-time of Robert, the new archbishop, the see of the archbishop of Glasgow was exempt from the primatial and legatine jurisdiction of St. Andrews, and the same privilege was accorded to the suffragan sees of Glasgow during the lives of the bishops of those sees (T. No. 889). As to the time when Dunkeld was restored to St. Andrews, the information as yet available does not allow us to be so precise as in the case of Dunblane. All we can say for certain is that when Leo X. provided Gavin Douglas to Dunkeld, the provision was accompanied with a letter of recommendation to the archbishop of St. Andrews as metropolitan. The date is 25 May, 1515 (*Reg. Lat.* 1325, fol. 136). This falls in consistently with the fact that James Beaton, I. archbishop of Glasgow, appears in R.G. (ii. 531) as having as suffragans only Candida Casa and Lismore.

In 1501 Robert was one of the commissioners under the Great Seal for negotiating the marriage of the king with Margaret, sister of Henry VIII. (8 Oct. ; R.M.S. ii. 2602).

On 27 Jan. 1507-8 Robert founded a chaplainry in the church called St. Mary's of Welbent, in the parish of Castellarris (Carstairs), where the bishops of Glasgow had a manor (R.G. No. 486). He annexed certain benefices to the University of Glasgow 5 Feb. 1507-8 (*Munimenta Universit. Glasguen.* i. 42).

Archbishop Blacader died 28 July, 1508 (R.G. p. 616) on a voyage in pilgrimage to the Holy Land. On 16 May 'a rich Scottish bishop' appears to have been at Venice. On Ascension Day (1 June) he accompanied the Doge in the Bucentaur to the wedding of the sea. He afterwards set out from Venice in a ship bound with pilgrims for Palestine. On the return of the ship in November it was found that out of 36 pilgrims 27 had died, and among them the Scottish bishop. There can be little doubt that this bishop was Blacader, archbishop of Glasgow. See Dr. David Laing's paper (based on Marin Sanuto's *Diaries*) in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, ii. 222-226.

For the date of Blacader's death we have Lesley (confirming the martyrology in R.G.). After recounting how 'the Queene partit with ane madin barne the xv day of July (1508),' he says,

‘About this time the bischop of Glasgow, quha wes passit to Jerusalem, or he come to the end of his journay, deceissit the xxix day of July. He wes ane noble, wyse, and godlie man’ (*Historie*, p. 78). He had probably left Scotland early in the year. He was ‘in remotis agens’ 20 Feb. and 11 March, 1507-8 (R.S.S. i. No. 1615; *Dioc. Reg. of Glasgow*, ii. No. 382). He was ‘itinerans ad sepulchrum Domini’ 16 June, 1508 (*ib.* No. 322).

The news of Blacader’s death (or probable death) must have reached Scotland at latest in October, for see next entry; his successor’s election was on 9 Nov. 1508.

Blacader’s arms: on a shield, with an archiepiscopal cross behind it;—On a chevron three roses. Macdonald, *Scottish Armorial Seals*, Nos. 171-173.

*Additional notices of Blacader with clues to authorities for those desiring fuller information.* Blacader was a member of several embassies of importance to England, to France, and apparently twice to Spain (A.P. ii. 224; *Rot. Scot.* ii. 495, 499). He arrived at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella on 24 Aug. 1495; and on 12 Sept. those potentates wrote to the pope urgently begging that Archbishop Robert might be made a cardinal (*Bergenroth’s Calendar of Spanish Papers*, i. Nos. 103, 104). He appears to have returned in the winter and to have arrived at Stirling two days before Christmas (E.R. x. 580). He seems to have again gone to Spain in the following spring: see Dr. T. Dickson’s Preface to *Tr. A.* (vol. i. p. cxxiii).

Blacader was present at St. Paul’s Cross, London, at the ‘hand-fasting’ (espousals) of Margaret Tudor, afterwards Queen of Scotland, on St. Paul’s Day, 25 Jan. 1502-3: Lesley (*Historie*, 70). It was Blacader who, with the earl of Morton and a brilliant train, met Margaret at Lambertoun, near the border, and convoyed her to Dalkeith, prior to the marriage at Holyrood, 8 Aug. 1503, which ceremony was performed by the archbishop of Glasgow, the archbishop of York reading the Bull of the pope assenting thereto (Leland). Blacader was one of the godfathers of James, the infant son of James IV. and Margaret, at his baptism in the abbey kirk of Holyrood 23 Feb. 1506-7 (Lesley, 75). This child died 27 Feb. 1507-8 (Dunbar’s *Scottish Kings*, 2nd edit. p. 219).

*Contentions between the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow.* The Act of Parliament forbidding the two archbishops to carry on their strife, with the certification that, if they will not cease and leave their pleas in the court of Rome and be obedient to the king, his highness will command and charge his lieges that none of them make finance nor pay to them fermes, rents, nor males to the sustentation of the said pleas, 26 June, 1493 (A.P. ii. 232, 233).

*Notices of the earlier history of Robert Blacader.* [His name occurs among the determinants at St. Andrews University in 1461 or 1462, and he was admitted *ad eundem* in Paris 1464, where he graduated as licentiate 1465 (*Auct. Cart. Univ. Paris.* ii. 952, 957). In 1471 Robert Bakadire (*sic*) was a messenger of James III. to Pope Paul II. (T. No. 850).] On 11 March, 1477-8, Pope Sixtus IV. states that he had received a petition from Robert Blakidir, rector of the parish church of Lesuarde (Lasswade), in the diocese of St. Andrews (which church he held *inter alias ecclesias*) and papal notary. Robert proposed to erect near the church a hospital for poor people, pilgrims, sick and feeble folk, and other miserable persons, to be known as the Hospital of St. Mary of Consolation. He desired authority from the pope for charging on the revenue of the rectory (which was more than £150 Scots) £20 Scots for the hospital and a chaplain to officiate there. The pope, knowing the merits of Robert, who was then 'orator' of King James at the Apostolic See, grants his request, and exempts the hospital from all jurisdiction save his own (T. No. 865). The pope appoints executors and conservators to give effect to his Bull (T. No. 866). A few days later (17 March, 1477-8) Blakidir obtained leave from the pope to make the parish church of Lasswade the prebend of a canon of the collegiate church of St. Salvator in the city of St. Andrews. His love for learning shows itself in the requirement that the holder of the new canonry should be either a doctor or licentiate *in utroque jure* (T. No. 867).

In 1480 (5 June) Blacader subscribes a charter of the dean and chapter of Glasgow as 'prebendary of Cardross' (R.G. 444). [See Aberdeen for notices of his history there.]

In addition to the structural features of the architecture of the cathedral of Glasgow due to Blacader (for an account of which

the reader will look elsewhere), he founded a chaplainry at the altar of the Name of Jesus; and another at the altar of St. Mary of Pity. He made an endowment for the singing of an *Ave gloria* or *Salve regina*, with versicle and collect, at night after compline by the vicars of the choir, in the nave of the cathedral, before the image of St. Mary of Consolation. In honour of St. Kentigern he built a church and founded therein a chaplainry near the monastery of Culross (on the Forth) 'where the same (St. Kentigern) was born' (1503). Not long before he left Scotland on his pilgrimage to Palestine he founded a chaplainry at the altar of St. John in the nave of the cathedral near the image of St. Mary of Consolation, while his brother, Sir Patrick, founded a chaplainry at St. Kentigern's altar in the lower church, near the tomb of the saint (27 Jan. 1507-8) (R.G. ii. 505, 519).

It was in the court of the archbishop of Glasgow that the Lollards of Kyle were brought up for examination in 1494. They seem to have escaped without punishment. Knox, who says that the articles against them were received by him 'furth of the register of Glasgow,' is our chief source of information (*History*, i. 7-12). No register containing an account of the trial is now known to exist.

**JAMES BEATON I.** (Betoun, Beton, Bethune), first of that name as archbishop of Glasgow, was at the time of his provision bishop elect of Galloway.

Assuming the accuracy of Macfarlane (*Genealogical Collections*, i. 1-35), this James Beaton was the sixth son of John Beaton of Balfour, in Fife, by Marjory Boswell.<sup>1</sup> James's eldest brother, John, was, by Elizabeth Moniepennie, father of David the cardinal, who was his third son. David's brother, James [or rather John] (second son), married Helen Melville, and their eldest son was James Beaton, the second of that name who held the archbishopric of Glasgow.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Daughter of Sir David Boswell of Balmuto.

<sup>2</sup> David Laing (*Works of John Knox*, i. 13) gives (sufficiently for our purpose) the following notices of James Beaton, the first of the name who held the archbishopric of Glasgow:—A presentation to Maister James Betoun of the chauntory of Cathnes vacand be the deceis of Master James Auchenleck, 17 Sept. and 11 Oct. 1497 (R.S.S. i. Nos.

[In 1506 James Beaton endeavoured to get himself appointed coadjutor and successor to George Brown, bishop of Dunkeld, but this scheme, though supported by James IV. and by Louis XII. of France, fell through (*Letters, etc., Richard III. and Henry VII.* ii. 205, 223, 224.)]

James Beaton was elected to Galloway after the death of George Vaus, who was dead before 29 Jan. 1507-8 [see under Galloway]. [On 1 March, 1507-8, James IV. wrote to the pope requesting that Beaton might be appointed to the vacant see (*Letters, etc., Richard III. and Henry VII.* ii. 257).] The following is from Notes of Provisions in the Vatican (*Vat. Arm.* xii. cap. iii. no. xxxx.). ‘*Candida case et capelle regie. Jacobus notarius apostolicus electus fuit ecclesie Candida case. De rege Scotorum nulla fit mentio 1508 anno quinto Julii II. Idem Jacobus a capitulo fuit postulatus, non tamen a sede apostolica postulationis causa approbatus, sed simpliciter de eadem provisus.*’ It will be noted that day and month are not given. But from the *Soluzioni* we get the date of Beaton’s provision to Galloway as 12 May, 1508.

1 Aug. 1508, a nomination to the rectory of Stobo is directed by the king, ‘*Jacobo episcopo Candida case et capelle regie de Strivelin,*’ and to Gavin Dunbar, archdeacon principal of St. Andrews, as executors of a faculty of nomination granted to the king by the pope (R.S.S. i. 1711), and in Nov. (day not given, but presumably 26 Nov.) he is still bishop of Galloway (*ib.* 1765); and Glasgow is mentioned as *sede vacante* on 28 Nov. 1508 (*ib.* 1769).

James Beaton was elected, or postulated, by the chapter of Glasgow, on 9 Nov. 1508 (Bain and Rogers’ *Diocesan Registers of Glasgow*, ii. 232). Master Adam Colquhoun, prebendary of Govan, presented royal letters of supplication, under the sign manual and the signet, to the chapter which was presided over by Master Martin Rede, the chancellor of the cathedral, in the

136, 145). His name appears among the *Intrantes* at St. Andrews in 1487, and he appears as a Master of Arts in 1493. In 1503 he was provost of the collegiate church of Bothwell, and [according to K., but this seems to be incorrect] prior of Whithorn; in 1504 he was abbot (more correctly commendator) of Dunfermline, and a lord of session. In 1505 he was lord treasurer.

absence of the dean, for the 'election or postulation' of the reverend father James Betoun, bishop of Candida Casa, to be archbishop of the church of Glasgow, which church is void, as is asserted, by the death of Robert, former archbishop. Thirteen canons concordantly postulated the said James. One canon, Master John Gibbsoun, prebendary of Renfrew, considered that more time should have been allowed for consideration, but he added that he was sure that if the late archbishop had a choice he would have chosen James Betoun. Gibbsoun eventually joined in the vote for Beaton. The following day, Master R. Forman, the dean, protested that no prejudice should arise to him or his successors because the postulation had taken place in his absence.

The uncertainty which still hung over the death of Blacader induces the chapter, on the occasion of Beaton's postulation, to state expressly that their act was not to be in prejudice to the rights of Robert, should he be still alive.

There is a letter of James IV. to Ludovic of Puteoli, secretary of the cardinal (Dominic Grimani) of St. Mark, 'Protector Scottorum,' dated Jedburgh, 12 Feb., without year, but doubtless 1508-9, in which the king, after acknowledging his receipt of a letter announcing the death of Blacader, goes on to indicate his wish that James might be translated from Galloway to Glasgow, so that he might be able to resign the abbacy of Dunfermline in favour of the archbishop of St. Andrews, Alexander Stewart, the king's son (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 93, 94). Some short time after this must be dated a letter of James IV. to Pope Julius II. from Edinburgh, in which he states that he had already requested his holiness that James, bishop of Candida Casa and the chapel royal, commendator 'pro tempore' of the monastery of Dunfermline, might be translated to Glasgow, adding the request that Dunfermline might be commended to the archbishop of St. Andrews (*ib.* i. 95).

Beaton appears as 'elect of Glasgow' 28 Jan. 1508-9, but Glasgow is marked 'sede vacante' on 7 Feb. (R.S.S. i. 1810, 1814). He is 'postulate of Glasgow, our treasurer' in the king's writ 10 March, 1508-9 (A.P. ii. 277). The papal provision must have come to Scotland early in the year, for the Bulls were read at Glasgow on Easter Day, 8 April, 1509; and

were formally received by the chapter, the university, and two city bailies, in the name of the citizens (*Dioc. Reg. Glasg.* ii. 278, 279). The source of the earlier notice of Beaton's provision to Galloway supplies the following—‘*Glasguen. Jacobus . . . in archiepiscopum Glasguen. a capitulo concorditer postulatus fuit; sed simpliciter de eadem provisus, nullo etiam supplicante, ac postulatione hujusmodi minime approbata, 1508, anno sexto Julii II.*’ And from the *Obbligazioni* [and E.] we learn the date of the translation to Glasgow was 19 Jan. 1508-9.

He was consecrated, ‘*ordinatus et consecratus*,’ at Stirling on ‘*dominica in albis post Pascha*,’ 15 April, 1509 (memorandum in *Dioc. Reg. of Glasgow*, ii. 507). The day of the month is correct for the first Sunday after Easter [i.e. *dominica in albis*]. Two days later, 17 April, he took *de novo*, as consecrated archbishop of Glasgow, the oath contained in the statutes of the cathedral of Glasgow (*ib.* ii. 276). 13 May, 1522, was in the 14th year of his consecration; i.e. he was consecrated after 13 May, 1508, and before 13 May, 1509 (Cambusk. No. 153). [10 April, 1532, is in the 23rd year of his consecration and 9th of his translation; that is, he was consecrated after 10 April, 1509, and translated to St. Andrews after 10 April, 1523 (Coupar charters, *penes* earl of Moray).]

He is archbishop of Glasgow (in R.S.S. i.) 8 May, 1509 (No. 1876).

He was admitted to the temporality of Kilwinning, 10 March, 1515-6 (R.S.S. i. 2725); and to that of Arbroath, 17 March, 1517-8 (*ib.* 2975).

He was translated to St. Andrews by Adrian VI. on 10 Oct. 1522 (Brady). The pall was granted 10 Dec. 1522 (*ib.*).

It is to be observed that, although the Vatican records just cited belong to Oct. and Dec. 1522, Beaton continues to be styled archbishop of Glasgow well on into the year 1523. As archbishop of Glasgow he was pursuer in a civil action on 5 Feb. 1522-3 (*Act. Dom. Concil.* xxxiii. 153). There is a letter of his, as archbishop of Glasgow, to Christiern, king of Denmark, in April, 1523 (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 337-8). On 2 May, 1523, he is a witness, still as archbishop of Glasgow (R.M.S.). But on 18 June, 1523, he is archbishop of St. Andrews in the sederunt of *Act. Dom. Concil.* (xxxiii. 200). If

I may venture on conjecture, I would suggest that possibly some convenience attaching to the Whitsunday rents of both sees may have made it preferable to defer the actual translation as regards the temporality.

Any attempt to recount the important part played by James Beaton I. in the civil history of the distracted times in which he lived would be beyond the scope of these notes. But a few of the principal facts in his life, while archbishop of Glasgow, may be mentioned. It was he who crowned the infant king, James V., at Stirling on 21 Sept. 1513 (*Dioc. Reg. Glasgow*, ii. 507). He was a leading member of the Council of the Queen Regent. He was present at the 'Generale Counsale,' and appears as chancellor, at Perth, 26 Nov. 1513, when the alliance with France was renewed and ratified, and the request made that Albany might come to Scotland with men and munitions of war (A.P. ii. 281).

After the queen's marriage with Angus, he is found in the party of Arran. Towards the end of August, 1514, Beaton, then chancellor, was under a temporary cloud: the keys of the Great Seal were ordered to be given to the postulate of Arbroath (Gavin Douglas), and the seal itself, for a time, to the archdean of St. Andrews, Gavin Dunbar (*Act. Dom. Concil.* xxvi. 109). Certainly on the 17 and 18 Sept. he is styled chancellor: yet, in a letter addressed on the latter day by the lords to John, duke of Albany, in the list of the lords' names, the word 'chancellor' after the archbishop's name is deleted, and nevertheless he himself signs as 'Ja. cancellarius.' He is also chancellor in the sederunt of 21 Sept., and the lords decide on that day that letters should be written to Gavin, postulate of Arbroath, to deliver up the keys of the Great Seal to the archbishop, chancellor, and that the seal itself should be delivered to the archbishop by the Clerk Register (Gavin Dunbar, archdean of St. Andrews) 'becaus the samyn was takin fra him (the archbishop) unorderlie.' A letter on behalf of the queen is given in to the lords on 14 Nov. signed by 'Gavinus cancellarius' (*Act. Dom. Concil.* xxvi. 119). See also a letter from Queen Margaret to Henry VIII. 23 Nov. 1514 (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* i. No. 5614), in which, writing from Stirling castle, she states that her adversaries detain the Great

Seal, and use it 'as they were kings.' About this obscure episode Dr. J. Maitland Thomson has supplied me with the above particulars. It is plain that each of the two parties had a 'chancellor,' but Gavin Douglas had never the absolute custody of the seal though styled 'chancellor' by the queen. Dr. Maitland Thomson has been so good as to express his opinion that the seizure of Beaton and the seal took place between the 2 Aug. [on which day he is on the sederunt of the lords of council (*Act. Dom. Concil.* xxvi. 105)] and 26 Aug. 1514.

Early in 1516, on Arran capturing the castle of Glasgow with its munitions of war, Beaton exerted himself with Albany to procure his pardon.<sup>1</sup>

On the departure of Albany to France, 7 June, 1517, he named Beaton one of the six vice-regents. And when the struggle between Angus and Arran was renewed, Beaton is found associated with the latter, and remains an opponent of the Douglases. The familiar story of the archbishop's 'clattering conscience,' told by Pitscottie, and his protection from slaughter by the efforts of Gavin Douglas, is apparently to be assigned to 30 April, 1520 (see George Buchanan, lib. xiv. c. 12). Lesley (p. 115) says the chancellor archbishop of Glasgow escaped from Edinburgh with Arran 'throw the northe loch.' In the following July, Angus attempted to seize the chancellor, whom he thought to be at Stirling (*ib.* 116).

The attempt of Henry VIII. before the translation of Beaton to St. Andrews to secure that dignity for Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, belongs rather to the history of St. Andrews than to that of Glasgow, and is not dealt with here. And the same has to be said of the eventful history of the archbishop after his translation to St. Andrews.

Among the acts of James Beaton recorded in R.G. will be found (1) his commission appointing Andrew Lord Gray, justiciar of the king, to be justiciar of the regality of Glasgow for the trial of Alexander Likprivik and his accomplices for the

<sup>1</sup> It was in this year that Arran, having obtained a divorce from his wife, married Janet Beaton, a niece of the archbishop (see the note in Pinkerton, ii. 179). She was a daughter of David Beaton of Creich in Fife, and had first been married to Sir Robert Livingston, of Easter Weems. See Balfour Paul's *Scots Peerage* (iv. 360).

slaughter of George Hamilton within the regality and city of Glasgow, 6 Aug. 1509 (No. 488); and (2) his confirmation of the privileges of the chapter of the cathedral, 8 July, 1512 (No. 490).

Leo X., when exempting James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, from any jurisdiction of St. Andrews, mentioned as his suffragans only the bishops of Candida Casa and Lismore (R.G. p. 531). See what has been said before on this subject, under Blacader.

It would seem as though the chapter of the cathedral of Glasgow had anticipated some difficulty with Beaton on his appointment, for we can scarcely doubt that it was at their request the archbishop of St. Andrews (Alex. Stewart), 'conservator of the privileges of the dean and chapter of the metropolitan church of Glasgow, specially deputed by the Apostolic See,' appointed on 18 May, 1509, sub-conservators, namely, 'David bishop of Candida Casa, George abbot of Holyrood, and Master Patrick Panter chancellor of Dunkeld and secretary of the king,' to act during his (the archbishop of St. Andrews') absence from Scotland (R.G. No. 487).

On 31 May, 1509, the chapter of Glasgow consulted on a request from Beaton for a 'subsidy,' or gratuitous contribution, towards the redemption and expedition of his Bulls and the relief of his debts. The canons were unanimous in refusing (*Diocesan Registers*, ii. 285).

Beaton's seal as archbishop exhibited S. Kentigern with a salmon having a ring in its mouth together with a shield bearing arms: Quarterly, 1st and 4th:—a fess between three mascles; 2nd and 3rd:—on a chevron an otter head erased: Macdonald's *Armorial Seals*, No. 129.

It is not easy to explain the long delay in filling up the see of Glasgow after the translation of Beaton (10 Oct. 1522). On 31 Dec. 1523, Beaton, now archbishop of St. Andrews, writes to Rome in evident dread that in the appointment of the future archbishop of Glasgow the pope may exempt him from the primatial and legatine jurisdiction of the see of St. Andrews (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 341, see also 343). His fears were justified; see below.

**GAVIN DUNBAR**, son of Sir John Dunbar of Mochrum, by his second wife, Janet, daughter of Sir William Stewart of

Garlies, or rather, Dalswinton, and nephew of Gavin Dunbar, bishop of Aberdeen and Lord Clerk Register (Macfarlane, *Genealogical Collections*, ii. 527, 528).<sup>1</sup> He was dean of Moray and preceptor of the king in 1518 (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 283).<sup>2</sup> He is described by Lesley as 'ane young clerk weill lerned, quha wes the kinges maister' (*Historie*, p. 118). He is described by Buchanan as 'vir bonus et doctus' (xiv. 34).

He was provided to Glasgow by Pope Clement VII. 8 July, 1524, with reservation of a pension of 200 ducats to Thomas Gai. The pall was granted 29 July, 1524. On 18 Sept. 1524, John Thornton 'in the name of Gavin elect of Glasgow' paid 2500 gold florins (B. i. 155).

On the same day as the provision (8 July) Pope Clement VII. granted to Gavin and his suffragans as full an exemption from the primatial and legatine jurisdiction of St. Andrews in all particulars as had been granted by Innocent VIII. and Leo X. to Robert Blacader and James Beaton. The Bull is printed in full (R.G. No. 494).

Though the papal provision was not till 1524, there can be little doubt that Dunbar had, through Albany's influence, been elected to Glasgow in 1523. See the evidence cited by Pinkerton (ii. 222 and 233).

The 'postulate of Glasgow' sat in Parliament on 16 Nov. 1524 (A.P. ii. 285). He had been admitted to the temporality 27 Sept. 1524 (R.S.S. i. 3298). He is still postulate of Glasgow in Parliament on 14 Jan. 1524-5 (R.M.S. iii. 294). He was consecrated at Edinburgh on 5 Feb. (Sunday), 1524-5 (*Diocesan Registers*, ii. 337). He sat in Parliament on 23 Feb. 1524-5, as 'archbishop of Glasgow' (A.P. ii. 288).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the *Scots Peerage* (iv. 152) the father of the archbishop's mother appears as Alexander Stewart.

<sup>2</sup> [In 1518 he was nominated by the Scottish authorities for the priory of Whithorn (*ib.*), and in Nov. 1519, it is stated that he is to have that benefice (*Act. Dom. Conc.* xxxii. 191). Apparently he held it *in commendam* till his promotion to Glasgow (cf. R.S.S. i. 3298, 3299).]

<sup>3</sup> He confirms a testament and seals the confirmation with his round seal 'at our city of Glasgow' 28 Sept. 1530, 'of our consecration the sixth year' (Crosraguel, i. 96).

He was made chancellor, 8 July, 1528 (*Act. Dom. Con. xxxviii. 126*).

He ceased to be chancellor in 1543; the Great Seal given to David Beaton [see St. Andrews].

He is in Parliament in July and August, 1546 (A.P. ii. 466 ff.).

He died 30 April 1547 (*Act. Dom. Con. et Sess. xxvi. 120*).

*Additional notes.* Within three months of his consecration Dunbar confirmed to the dean and chapter of Glasgow all their rights, liberties, and immunities, 29 April, 1525 (R.G. No. 496). He himself styles Gavin, bishop of Aberdeen, 'noster patruus' (Cambusk. p. 188).

*Relations of the two archiepiscopal sees.* An examination of the Bull of Clement VII., dated xi. Kal. Oct. 1531 (R.G. No. 499), reveals that James Beaton after his accession to St. Andrews had put pressure on James V., while still a minor, to represent to the pope that the Bull of 8 July, 1524 (referred to above), was to the prejudice and grave loss of the archbishop of St. Andrews, and that Clement had thereupon ordained that the privileges and exemptions which had been given to Gavin should not extend to the rights of the archbishop of St. Andrews so far as they arose from his being primate and *legatus natus*. The date of this ordinance (no doubt expressed in a Bull) does not appear. But on Clement learning at a later time, from letters of the king and information furnished by Albany, that the former letters of the king had been 'extorted' from him contrary to his own wish by Archbishop Beaton, the pope revoked his later ordinance and went back to the arrangement expressed in the Bull of 8 July, 1524. Thus in 1531 Gavin regained all the immunities enjoyed by his predecessors Blacader and Beaton.

Towards the end of Nov. 1535, the archbishop of St. Andrews (James Beaton) when in the town of Dumfries elevated his archiepiscopal cross and blessed the people. A formal protest was made by archbishop Dunbar's official; and it was protested that these acts (which appear to have been done on this occasion with the consent of Dunbar) were not prejudicial to the privileges and indults of Glasgow. The archbishop of St. Andrews asserted, and was not contradicted by

the archbishop of Glasgow, that there was an agreement (*compactum*) between their lordships (R.G. No. 500).

Four years later, on 27 Nov. 1539, the archbishop of St. Andrews (now Cardinal David Beaton) was in Dumfries. The official again made his protest. The cardinal admitted the exemption of Glasgow ; and declared that the carrying of his cross was as primate of the kingdom of Scotland, and did not prejudice the rights of Glasgow. He added that he was doing only as his predecessors had done (R.G. No 502).

There is an important instrument dated Palm Sunday, 5 April [it should be 6 April], 1544, and executed in the choir of Glasgow cathedral before the high altar. Dunbar protested that the carrying of Cardinal Beaton's cross in the metropolitan church of Glasgow, or elsewhere in his diocese or province, should not be granted to the prejudice of the exemption of him (Dunbar). The cardinal courteously (*humaniter*) replied that he did not carry his cross, or give benediction, within the church to the prejudice of the exemption granted by the pope, but solely by reason of the goodwill and courtesy of the archbishop of Glasgow (R.G. No. 504).

The question connected with the elevation of the archbishop of St. Andrews' cross culminated in a disgraceful riot in the cathedral of Glasgow, if indeed we are not compelled to suppose that on two occasions there were scenes of violence in the cathedral due to the same cause. The humorous and graphic pen of John Knox (*Works*, i. 146, 147) has made the story familiar. Bishop Lesley (*Historie*, p. 178) connects the riot and the breaking of the crosses in time with the first coming of 'the patriarch of Venice' (more correctly, the patriarch of Aquileia), Marco Grimani, the papal legate, to Glasgow. This would be early in Oct. 1543. But the *Diurnal of Occurrents* (p. 39) assigns a riot in the cathedral at Glasgow to 4 June, 1545. And that there was an angry and violent scene in Glasgow about this latter time is certain from a letter of Cardinal Beaton to the pope, dated Linlithgow, 6 July, 1545. He says that Gavin, the present archbishop of Glasgow, has created a scandal. 'For, when I in the company of her most serene Majesty the Queen, and of the most illustrious Governor, had come to the city of Glasgow, the said

archbishop caused his cross to be borne in my presence.' The cardinal says that to avoid the possibility of a tumult he contented himself with admonishing the archbishop to desist from the practice. But the archbishop, regardless of these monitions, and regardless of a promise which he made to the governor that he would not bear his cross, surrounded by armed men, entered the cathedral where the cardinal was at worship, and attempted to attack him, not without risk to his life. The governor, offended by this very vile conduct, and recalling other offences previously perpetrated by Gavin, would on that very day have brought Gavin to punishment<sup>1</sup> had not the cardinal intreated him with supplication to refer the whole matter to his Holiness.<sup>2</sup> The cardinal goes on to say that he commissioned Robert, bishop of Orkney, and George, abbot of Dunfermline, to examine witnesses on this and other crimes of Gavin. When the evidence was reduced to writing he would transmit it to the pope that such offences might not go unpunished (T. No. 1070). It will be observed that the cardinal says nothing about the crosses having been broken on this occasion.

There is a note of time in Knox's account of the story which should not be overlooked: he says it was 'at the end of harvest.' On the whole, I am rather inclined to think that the breaking of the two crosses was about Oct. 1543, and that Gavin's later act, related above by the cardinal, is to be dated in June, 1545. But the matter is very doubtful.

As early as Nov. 1539, Cardinal Beaton had written to his agent at Rome to procure from the pope a brief that he as primate of the realm might bear his cross before him 'per totum regnum Scotiae et in diocesi et provincia Glascuensi' (see Sadler's *State Papers*, i. p. 14).

*Relations of Gavin Dunbar to the movement for ecclesiastical*

<sup>1</sup> A letter of the governor to Paul III., referring apparently to the same incident, says that it was only due to his reverence for the ecclesiastical dignity that he did not bring Gavin to expiate his offence *extremo supplicio* (T. No. 1068).

<sup>2</sup> The governor's letter is dated Linlithgow xiii. Kal. Junii. Could this be an error for xiii. Kal. Julii? Otherwise we cannot accept the date 4 June, 1545, given, as the date of the riot, by the *Diurnal of Occurrents*.

reform. Gavin was in Parliament at Edinburgh 15 March, 1542-3, and protested in his own name and in name and behalf of all the prelates of the realm present in Parliament against the Act 'that halie write may be used in our vulgar tongue' (A.P. ii. 415. See also R.G. No. 506).

Dunbar was present at the trial of Patrick Hamilton, on whom sentence was pronounced 29 Feb. 1527-8, which sentence he signed (Calderwood, i. 80). In 1539 a Franciscan friar, Jerome Russell, and a youth named Kennedy were tried for heresy before Dunbar at Glasgow, and if we may credit Knox (*Works*, i. 65) he was desirous to spare their lives; but finally, under the pressure of more eager zealots, he consented to their condemnation. Dunbar is said to have taken part in the trial and sentence of five persons accused of heresy, who were burnt on the Castle Hill, Edinburgh, on the last day of February, 1538-9 (Calderwood, i. 125).<sup>1</sup> This was apparently earlier in the year than the trial of Russell and Kennedy. For Dunbar's preaching in the church at Ayr (1545?) while George Wishart preached at the Market Cross, see Knox (i. 127).

*A difference between Dunbar and a suffragan.* Henry (Wemys), who had been provided to Candida Casa 24 Jan. 1525-6 (Brady), appears to have come into collision with his metropolitan, and to have been subjected to ecclesiastical censure; for, on 7 Feb. 1530-1, after being absolved from certain sentences of the archbishop, he took the oath of obedience to the archbishop. The oath was made by 'the bishop of Candida Casa and of the chapel royal at Stirling' on his knees, and with his joined hands placed between the hands of the archbishop, in the private chapel of the archbishop at his accustomed residence in Edinburgh. Such privileges and exemptions as belonged to him as bishop of the chapel royal were admitted by the archbishop (R.G. No. 498).

Dunbar's seal exhibited beneath a canopy S. Kentigern with a salmon having a ring in its mouth. Below, above an archiepiscopal cross, a shield bearing three cushions lozenge-ways within a royal tressure. See Macdonald's *Armorial Seals*, No. 811.

<sup>1</sup>[The true date is 1 March (*Liber Domicilii Regis*, quoted in Laing's *Knox*, i. 63 n.)].

After the death of Dunbar (30 April, 1547) the see of Glasgow was void for a considerable time. The queen designated James Hamilton, 'natural brother of our illustrious governor' (Arran) [for whom see under Argyll], proposing that £1000 Scots should be deducted from the revenues of the see and assigned to David Hamilton and Claud Hamilton, 31 July, 1547 (T. No. 1074). The vicar general of Glasgow, *sede vacante*, was present at the general or provincial council at Edinburgh 27 Nov. 1549 (S.E.S. ii. 82). It was not till nearly three years after the death of Dunbar that the appointment was made of

**ALEXANDER GORDON** 'de nobili etiam comitum genere procreatus,' as he is styled in the papal provision. (He was son of the master of Huntly by Jane (natural daughter of James IV.) and brother of the fourth earl of Huntly.) He, 'clerk of the diocese of Aberdeen,' was provided 5 March, 1549-50 (B. 155). Two pensions to clerks (named) of the dioceses of Lyons and Bologna, of 400 gold ducats each were reserved; and Gordon is allowed to retain 400 marks (Scots), a pension derived from the mensal revenue of Caithness (*ib.*).

For the connection of Gordon with the see of Caithness, see under Caithness.

Gordon was granted the pall for Glasgow 10 March, 1549-50 (B.).

Lesley (*Historie*, 242) says Gordon was 'providit and consecrat at Rowme archebischope of Glasgw.'

Apparently in 1551 Gordon resigned Glasgow into the hands of the pope (R.G. Nos. 513, 514, 515); and on 4 Sept. 1551, he receives the title of archbishop of Athens *in partibus*, together with the *commendam* of the monastery of Inchaffray, and leave to retain £500 Scots, out of the mensal revenues of the bishopric of Caithness (B. 156).

[For his later history, see under Isles and Galloway.]

Except in the Bulls connected with the provision of his successor, his name does not appear in the register of the bishopric of Glasgow.

**JAMES BEATON** (Bethune) (II.), son of an elder brother of Cardinal Beaton (R.G. 557).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For family relationships, see under James Beaton (I.).

Provided by the pope on 4 Sept. 1551. He is said in the consistorial entry to be a clerk of the diocese of St. Andrews, and in his 27th year or thereabout (B. 157; and R.G. 568). Another Bull of the same date dispenses him for defect of age (R.G. 566). The appointment was at the request of the queen.

He was made an acolyte<sup>1</sup> and subdeacon on Saturday, 16 July, deacon on Sunday, 17 July, and priest on Wednesday, 20 July, 1552, in the church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina by Bortius de Merlis, bishop of Bobbio (R.G. 574-5). The pall was conceded on 24 August, 1552 (*Barberini*; B. 157). He was consecrated on Sunday, 28 Aug. 1552, in the greater chapel of the Apostolic Palace, Rome, by John James Barba, 'episcopus Aprutinensis' (Abruzzo), assisted by John Angestis 'episcopus Noviodunensis' (Nevers), and John Angelus Peregrinus 'episcopus Fundanensis' (Fondi). R.G. 575-7.

He died at Paris on 25 April, 1603.<sup>2</sup> Certainly he was buried in Paris, in the chapel of Our Lady in the church of the college of St. John de Latran,<sup>3</sup> where his tomb was erected, and where the inscription set forth that he was 'sacratus Romae, 1552: Obiit 24 April. 1603, aetatis sua 86.' From what has been said as to his age when he was dispensed for defect in 1551 (which is roughly confirmed by the statement as to his age when, on 22 March, 1545-6, he was provided to the monastery of Arbroath, being then 'in his twenty-second year or thereabout'), it is plain that the inscription represents him as considerably older than he really was. He died at the age of about 80.

Beaton lived in Paris for more than forty years,<sup>4</sup> and served

<sup>1</sup> Indeed the commission was to ordain him *ad quatuor minores, sive acolytatus, . . . ordines.*

<sup>2</sup> He was certainly dying, and too weak to sign his will on the 24 April. See *Dioc. Reg. of Glasgow*, i. 232. Dr. Bellesheim (*Hist. of Catholic Church in Scotland*, iii. 327) says 'He died at Paris on April 25, 1603, at the age of eighty-three.' As for his age, see above.

<sup>3</sup> See his will printed by Bain and Rogers in *Dioc. Reg. of Glasgow*, i. 230.

<sup>4</sup> There is a deed in R.G. (p. 588) which might be taken to show that the archbishop was in Glasgow on 5 June, 1581. It professes to be subscribed 'apud Glasgu,' and the first signature is that of 'Ja.

as ambassador of both Mary and James VI. He was held in such high esteem by the latter monarch that he was rehabilitated under the Great Seal, 13 March, 1586-7, and in 1598 an Act was passed by which he was restored to his heritages, dignities, etc., 'notwithstanding that he has never maid confession of his faith, and has never acknowledgementit the religion profest within this realme' (A.P. iv. 169-70). This was ratified in 1600 without prejudice to the ministers' stipends. The castle of Glasgow was not restored, nor the right to appoint the provost and baillies of Glasgow (A.P. iv. 256).

A few other particulars may be recorded. James Beaton was sent to Paris to study at the age of 14: his uncle, David Beaton, was then in Paris. After his flight to France in 1560 he was in frequent correspondence with Queen Mary, and exerted himself strenuously in her interests. He served as her ambassador; and he collected such revenues as were due to her as widow of Francis II., for which he received a salary. Several notices of Beaton will be found in Pollen's *Papal Negotiations with Queen Mary* (Scottish History Society). It is to be noted that the restoration of Beaton to his dignities, etc., in 1598, was, as a matter of fact, very partial in its effects. He was not reinvested, apparently, in any of the temporalities except the revenues of the regality of Glasgow: see Bain and Rogers' Preface to the Rental Book (*Diocesan Registers*), p. 31. He had several preferments in France. His testament is printed by Bain and Rogers (*Dioc. Reg. of Glasgow*, i. 230), and he is therein described as 'Archeuesque de Glasco, Abbé de l'Abbaye Nostre Dame de l'Absye en Poictou.' Absie was a Benedictine monastery not far from Rochelle. He bequeathed to poor scholars of the Scottish nation who shall come from Scotland to Paris for the purpose of studying humanity or theology, a house situated in the Rue des Amandiers in Paris, and the whole of his property, moveable and immovable.

The laudatory elegiac verses in Latin inscribed on his tomb will be found printed in Macfarlane's *Genealogical Collections*, i. 17-18.

Glasgw.' But it is most probable that this was the titular archbishop, James Boyd, who died 21 June, 1581 (Scott's *Fasti*, ii. part i. p. 377).

From the High Treasurer's Accounts for Nov. 1549 (ix. 356, 357), we learn that Master James Betoun, postulate of Aberbrothok, was ordered to find surety to underlie the laws for treasonable intercommuning with John Dudlie, Englishman, sometime captain of the Fort of Broughty, and certain persons were sent to Aberbrothok to require the place thereof to be given over to my Lord Governor's Grace because Master James Betoun was at the horn.

[Arms: quarterly, 1st and 4th, a fess between two mascles; 2nd and 3rd, on a chevron an otter head erased.]

## The Bishops of Galloway (Candida Casa, Whitherne, Whithorn)

It is beyond the scope of the present work to investigate the chronology of the early bishops whose seat was at Whitherne, or, as it came to be called after the erection of St. Ninian's stone church, Candida Casa. The death of Ninian (or, as he is called by Bede, Nynia) has been generally assigned to the year 432. The see after this sinks into obscurity for close upon three hundred years. We hear of it again in Bede (H.E. v. 23) when it was revived by an English bishop named Pecthelm, whose death (on no very high authority) is placed A.D. 735.

He was succeeded by Frithwald (Fredwold), whose death is assigned in Symeon's *Chronicle* to 764. His successor was Pectwine, consecrated 17 July, 763, died Sept. 19, 776. Next came Ethelbert, consecrated at York 15 June, 777 (*Saxon Chronicle*, and *Florence of Worcester*, i. 59). In 789 he was translated to Hexham. As bishop of Whitherne he signed the decrees of the Northumbrian Legatine Synod (787) (H. and S. iii. 460). In 791 he was one of the consecrators of Badulf (in error Radulf) for Whitherne. We hear of him again 796, when he assisted at the consecration of Archbishop Eanbald II. After this the bishops of Whitherne of the English succession are lost to sight, if indeed the succession was continued. More than two centuries later the see of Galloway was revived by Fergus, lord of Galloway, in the early years of David I.

It is to be remembered that the bishop of Galloway was a suffragan of York down to the Bull of Sixtus IV. (17 Aug. 1472), which placed Candida Casa under the archbishop of St.

Andrews. Some twenty years later Innocent VIII. (9 Jan. 1491-2) raised Glasgow to the rank of an archbishopric, and transferred to that province the see of Candida Casa. Haddan and Stubbs in their work on the *Councils of Great Britain* (vol. ii. part 1) have discussed the succession of the bishops of Galloway, and the author of the present volume has to make his acknowledgments of the aid afforded by the researches of these laborious scholars.

**GILLA-ALDAN**, consecrated by Thurstin, archbishop of York, between 1125 and 1133, according to Haddan and Stubbs. But Stubbs in his later work, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum* (2nd edit.) gives the date of consecration as between 1133 and 1140. Gilla-Aldan's profession of subjection and canonical obedience to Thurstin is printed by Haddan and Stubbs. The authority for Gilla-Aldan is the *Historians of the Church of York* (Raine's edit.). Thomas Stubbs (Raine, *op. cit.* ii. 385) places Gilaldanus bishop of Candida Casa simply, without date, among the bishops consecrated by Thurstin.

**CHRISTIAN.** Consecrated on 19 Dec. 1154 at Berdmunsey by the archbishop of Rouen (Hugh d'Amiens) (C.S.C.). The 19 Dec. 1154 was a Sunday. The archbishop of Rouen must have been acting for the archbishop of York; for we learn (Benedict Abbas, i. 166-67) that Christian refused to attend the Legate Vivian's Council at Edinburgh, 1 August, 1177, on the ground that he belonged to the legatine jurisdiction (*legatiam*) of Roger, archbishop of York, 'who had consecrated him bishop.'<sup>1</sup> For his refusal to attend, Christian was suspended from the episcopal office by Vivian. But relying on the support of Roger, he disregarded the suspension (Hoveden, ii. 135).

'Christianus Witernensis episc.' witnessed a royal grant to Dunfermline under Malcolm, 'the Maiden' (A.P. i. 364). In 1177, on 16 March, he witnessed a deed of Henry II. of England (*Fæd.* i. 34. See also Benedict, i. 151-154, and Hoveden, ii. 129-131).

He witnessed a charter of King William (who succeeded 9 Dec. 1165) with Engelram, bishop of Glasgow (who died

<sup>1</sup> The original will be found conveniently in H. and S. vol. ii. part i. p. 44.

2 Feb. 1173-4) (Ayloffe's *Calendar of Charters*, 349. See also B.C. i. 105).

Christian died at Holcultram (Holmcultram) in Cumberland on 7 Oct. 1186 (M.).

**JOHN**, elect of *Candida Casa*, was consecrated at the abbey of Pipewell, Northamptonshire, on Sunday, 17 Sept. 1189, by John, archbishop of Dublin (Hoveden, iii. 16); by the archbishops of Dublin and Treves, and the bishop of Enachdune (Brompton, coll. 1157-1162, edit. 1652). Fulmar was the archbishop of Treves at this time, and Concord was the bishop of Enachdune.<sup>1</sup>

The see of York was vacant at the time of the consecration; but soon after he makes his profession as 'suffraganeus Eboraensis' to Geoffrey Plantagenet, archbishop elect of York (*Reg. Ebor.* quoted H. and S. ii. i. 56). And it was by the hands of John that Geoffrey Plantagenet had been ordained a priest (Giraldus Cambrensis, *Vita Galfredi*, cap. vii., ed. Brewer, iv. 374) after his appointment to the see of York.

Some of his acts in England are recorded in H. and S. In Scotland 'J., bishop of *Candida Casa*,' acts as one of the judges appointed by the pope to decide a dispute as to patronage in the diocese of Glasgow (R.G. i. 72). The date is uncertain, but 'J.' is almost certainly this John, and the charter is dated by Mr. Cosmo Innes (R.G., *Tabula*) as 1189-1209. He witnesses a charter of Alan, son of Roland, constable of Scotland, to Kelso *ante* 1206 (Kelso, No. 245).

In 1206 John became a monk of Holyrood (Sc. viii. 66).

He died in 1209, apparently early in the year (M.).

**WALTER**, chamberlain of Alan, son of Roland (fourth lord of Galloway, according to Stevenson in a note to M.), succeeded (apparently) in 1209 (M.).

Some of his acts in England, as suffragan of York, will be found noticed in Haddan and Stubbs (p. 56).

He witnessed a grant to Melrose [in the reign of William the Lion, and another] in the reign of Alexander II. (Melrose, i. 181, 182).

<sup>1</sup> Enachdune (Annadown), we are told by Todd (*St. Patrick*, p. 38), was a diocese 'co-extensive with Iar-Connaught, or West Connaught, the seigniory of the O'Flahertys.'

He granted to Dryburgh *in puram elemosynam* the church of Sorbie (in Wigtonshire).<sup>1</sup> (See below under Gilbert.)

In 1235 'W., bishop of Candida Casa,' died (M.) in Jan. or Feb. (see next entry). Haddan and Stubbs take this 'W.' to be Walter. But in Sc. (ix. 49) we find, under the year 1235, 'Obiit Willelmus, Candidae Casae episcopus.' Possibly this is an error of Bower's. But it is also possible that a bishop, William, intervened between Walter and Gilbert. Of a bishop 'William,' however, at this date there is not, so far as I am aware, any other notice.

**GILBERT.** Monk of Melrose and master of the novices, formerly abbot of Glenluce, in the diocese of Galloway (M.; Sc. ix. 49).

Elected by the 'clergy and people' of the diocese, with the exception of the prior and canons of Whitherne (who formed the chapter of the see) on 25 Feb. (first Sunday in Lent), 1234-5. On the third Sunday in Lent ('Oculi mei'), 11 March, 1234-5, the prior and canons of Whitherne elected Odo, canon of Whitherne, and formerly abbot of Deretonsal (Dercongall, or Holywood), and sent at once to the archbishop of York requesting consecration for Odo. But he had heard of the first election and did not comply (M.). The cause of Gilbert was espoused by King Alexander, who gave his assent to the election 23 April, and on 20 May wrote to the archbishop of York requiring him not to consecrate Odo. A commission to try the disputed election on 4 June was issued by the archbishop. The prior and canons wrote excusing their absence from York because of the war, but sent a proctor (Lansd. MSS. 402, from the York Registers. See Haddan and Stubbs, p. 57). The York Registers also supply a declaration of the names of the canons who voted for Odo, twenty-eight in all, including the prior. (See Haddan and Stubbs, *ib.*)

Gilbert was consecrated by the archbishop, Walter Gray, on Sunday, 2 Sept. 1235, *in ecclesia majori* at York (M.).

The matter did not end with the consecration of Gilbert. It is plain there was an appeal to Rome on behalf of Odo; for

<sup>1</sup>[The grant was confirmed by the papal legate in 1221, and by the pope in 1228 (Dryburgh, 171, 199).]

so long after as 19 June, 1241, Gregory IX. issued a mandate to the bishops of Raphoe and Rathlure and the archdeacon of Raphoe to investigate the elections. If they found Odo to be canonically elected, they were to cause him to be consecrated, and to compel Gilbert, monk of Melrose, to restore what he had taken from Whitherne. If they found the election of Gilbert to be canonical, they were to cause due obedience to be paid to him. If they found that neither election was canonical, they were to cause a fresh election to be made (C.P.R. i. 198). The result of their investigation does not appear. But Gilbert continued in possession. Several of his acts, the granting of indulgences for the support of lights at Finchale Priory and alms to the same in 1239, 1245, 1246, 1248, will be found recorded in the Surtees Society's volume (*Finchale Priory*, pp. 169, 172, 175, 177).

He confirmed the gift of the church of Sorbie, granted by Walter to Dryburgh, adding of his own gift the church of Worgis (probably meaning Borgue) (Dryburgh, 59 and 50). Borgue is in Kirkcudbrightshire.

Gilbert died in 1253 (M.; and Lanercost, 59).

**HENRY**, abbot of Holyrood.

In Dunfermline (No. 203) Henry appears as only elect of Candida Casa together with Gameline, elect of St. Andrews; but Gameline was not elect of St. Andrews till Feb. 14, 1254-5. Henry appears in Oct. 1254 as abbot of Holyrood (Dunferml. No. 309). He is elect in Dec. 1255 (No. 206).

The case of Henry's predecessor, Gilbert, presents us with a double election, the electors in one case being 'the clergy and people' of the diocese (excepting the prior and canons of Whitherne), and in the other the prior and canons, who, if not earlier, were in later elections regarded as the capitular body entitled to elect. It may be suspected that in the case of Henry there was an attempt to act without the concurrence of the prior and canons of Whitherne. 'Henry,' as is observed by Haddan and Stubbs (p. 60, note *b*), 'was manifestly elected in some form or other in 1253 (*Chron. de Lanercost*, 59),<sup>1</sup> inas-

<sup>1</sup> 'Johannes de Balliolo ... obtendit contra electionem tanquam irrite factam et in antiquae libertatis suorum praejudicium.'

much as Baliol demurred at the time to the election as (upon his view of the matter) invalid.' But Henry's consecration did not take place till 1255, when he was consecrated by (or by authority of) Walter, archbishop of York, who died the same year (M.) at Fulham on 1 May. The *Chronicle of Lanercost* (62) states that he was consecrated on 7 Feb. (vij. Idus Feb.), 1254-5. So far all is intelligible. But we are met by the record in the York Registers that he was elected bishop of Candida Casa on 11 Feb. 1254, which date Haddan and Stubbs (p. 58) understand to mean 11 Feb. 1254-5, and that he was confirmed on the 24 Feb. 1254-5. If this view be correct, we have a second election and a confirmation after Henry's consecration. Haddan and Stubbs remark, 'This election and confirmation *after* the consecration—and the dates seem established beyond reasonable doubt—could only have been performed with the purpose of having all forms technically complete according to the York view of the case.' The York registers represent the election as taking place 'in majori ecclesia Ebor.' Such election, it may be reasonably supposed, was by the prior and canons of Whitherne.

The consecration of Henry took place 'apud S. Agatham,' near Richmond in Yorkshire, and Haddan and Stubbs give good reason for believing that Walter Gray was not present in person, but acted by deputy, presumably Walter, bishop of Durham, who was certainly present on the occasion.<sup>1</sup>

[In 1260 he granted an indulgence to visitors to Finchale (*Priory of Finchale*, 179).]

Many of his episcopal acts in the province of York will be found noted in Haddan and Stubbs, who also record various occasions on which he appeared in affairs of state in Scotland. He was at Brigham 17 March, 1289-90 (A.P. i. 441).

In 1287, on account of his old age, he was excused by the archbishop from the annual visit to York, promised in his profession. The archbishop adds that if he does come 'versus partes nostras,' he shall have some churches to consecrate, 'quod

<sup>1</sup> Lanercost says distinctly by the bishop of Durham. For a full statement of the authorities, and for the argument thereon, the reader is referred to Haddan and Stubbs, p. 58.

in emolumentum aliquid vobis cedet' (*Reg. Joh. Romani*, as cited in Haddan and Stubbs, p. 59).<sup>1</sup>

'H.,' bishop of Galloway, witnesses the foundation charter of Sweetheart Abbey on 2 April, 1273 (*Laing Charters*, No. 46).

In 1291, 4 Aug., 'H., bishop of Whithern,' is in Ireland (B.C. i. p. 131).

In 1292 he was chosen by John Baliol on his part in the dispute with Bruce as to the crown (*Fœd. i.* 767).

Henry died 1 Nov. 1293, being at the time 'cruce signatus' (*Chron. de Lanercost*, 154; Haddan and Stubbs, ii. pt. i. 59).

**THOMAS DE KIRCUDBRIGHT** (called Master Thomas de Daltoun in *Chron. de Lanercost*, 155). On 13 Jan. 1294, John (Baliol), king of Scotland, writes to the archbishop of York, desiring him not to consecrate Thomas de Kircudbright, chaplain of Robert Bruce. He states that though elected by the prior and canons of Whitherne, the election was not 'per inspirationem, sed per quandam compromissionem, quae symoniaca conversacio per alias certas personas excogitata est.' Robert de Brus writes also, urging his consecration (York registers, referred to by Haddan and Stubbs, p. 60; *Letters from Northern Registers*, 104-5).

On 30 May, 1294, Thomas made his formal and detailed profession to John Romanus, archbishop of York, and was by him corporally invested 'per librum.' On 30 June the archbishop wrote to the bishops of St. Asaph and Carlisle to join in the consecration of the bishop of Whitherne at Ripon. It was not, however, at Ripon (as the chronicler of *Lanercost*, 155, supposed), but at the parish church of Gedeling that Thomas was consecrated on 10 Oct. ('crastino S. Dionysii') 1294, by the archbishop and the two bishops above named (York registers). He gives letters patent on 25 July, 1314 (20th year of consecration) granting an indulgence of 40 days (B.C. iii. No. 375). This falls in with the statement of the York registers as to the date of consecration. *Lanercost* makes his consecration at Ripon on the feast of the Assumption of B.V.M. (15 Aug.). It may

<sup>1</sup> Another indication of his need of money will be found also in Haddan and Stubbs.

be observed that both 15 Aug. and 10 Oct. were Sundays in 1294.

On the 28 Aug. 1296, Thomas (with Robert of Glasgow and Henry of Aberdeen) swears allegiance to Edward I. of England, at Berwick-upon-Tweed (B.C. ii. p. 196).<sup>1</sup>

The date of the death of Thomas is doubtful; but it is almost certain it was after 12 July, 1319, and before the end of that year (see H. and S. p. 62).<sup>2</sup>

**SIMON DE WEDALE**, abbot of Holyrood. Elected, but in some way not recognised by the see of York (perhaps by the 'clergy and people' of the diocese, as in the election of Gilbert) before 8 July, 1321; for on that date Simon, 'miseratione divina Candidae Casae humilis minister,' at Wedale, grants, with permission of the diocesan, an indulgence of 40 days to those devoutly visiting, or giving of their goods for the rebuilding of St. Cuthbert's chapel (at Old Melrose), which had been destroyed by the English (Melrose, ii. 390). According to Haddan and Stubbs (p. 62) 'the authenticity of this date is doubtful.' I have been unable to see the reasons for supposing that doubt attaches to it. A charter of King Robert Bruce of 24 Nov. 1322 (R.M.S. ii. 459) implies the see to be then vacant. And it is plain that Simon had not been confirmed, for on 19 April, 1323, Archbishop Melton of York writes to the cardinal deacon of St. Heliodorus, complaining that the bishop elect of Candida Casa was seeking confirmation and consecration from the pope, instead of from himself, his metropolitan (Haddan and Stubbs, from Melton's Register).

At last an election by the prior and canons of Whitherne takes place; for on 23 Sept. ('die Martis prox. post fest. S. Matt.'), 1326, Simon announces to the archbishop of York his election 'per viam compromissi.' The election was confirmed by the archbishop of York 16 Dec. 1326. On 28 Jan. 1326-7 the

<sup>1</sup> Various episcopal acts of Thomas and various occasions upon which he figured in Scottish affairs are noted with their dates in Haddan and Stubbs (pp. 60-62).

<sup>2</sup> Other references. He has a protection from the king of England, 26 May, 1306 (B.C. ii. No. 1847). He obtains licence from Edward II. at York to visit his diocese, 20 Sept. 1314 (*Rot. Scot.* i. 131).

abbot of Westminster grants a licence for the consecration of the bishop of Candida Casa in one of the chapels of Westminster (Reg. Melton). On 1 Feb. 1327 (that is 1326-7, the first of Feb. in that year falling on Sunday), 'Simon de Wedehale' was consecrated at Westminster Abbey, on commission from the archbishop of York, by the bishops of Carlisle, Lichfield, and Llandaff (*ib.*; see *Letters from Northern Registers*, 336-39).<sup>1</sup>

His death is recorded in the Register of the Dean and Chapter of York thus—11 March, 1354, *i.e.* 1354-5, 'Simon de Wedehale, episcopus Candidae Casae obiit.' His approaching end was perhaps foreseen when John, king of France, petitioned on his behalf for a plenary indulgence at the hour of death, which was granted by Innocent VI., 18 June, 1354 (C.P.R. Pet. 260).

We find in *Fædera* (ii. 876), *Henry*, bishop of Candida Casa, present in the Parliament of Edward Baliol at Edinburgh on 10 Feb. 1333-4. It would seem that the name *Henry* is an error. It is likely enough that the bishop of Candida Casa was at this time in the English interest, but there is no other evidence for the name. It may be added that in the records of Edward Baliol's Parliament printed in A.P. i. 539-42, we find no mention of a bishop of Candida Casa.<sup>2</sup> On 12 Feb., in Baliol's Parliament there were only, of the bishops, John de Lindesay of Glasgow, Alexander de Kyninmund of Aberdeen, and William Sinclair of Dunkeld. Moreover, on 1 Nov. 1335, Edward III. granted a protection to Simon, bishop of Candida Casa (*Rot. Scot.* i. 385).

**MICHAEL MACKENLAGH** (de Malconhalgh), prior of Candida Casa.

Elected before 4 June, 1355, when Edward III. granted a

<sup>1</sup> Episcopal acts and attendance at the Scottish Parliament are noted, with evidences, by Haddan and Stubbs, pp. 62-63. To these may be added that he was bishop 11 Nov. 1345 (Holyrood, 96), and letters of Simon, dated St. Luke's day (18 Oct.), 1347, assigning the proportion of tithes, etc., of the church of Botylle to be given to the vicar and to Sweetheart abbey respectively (C.P.R. iii. 396). [He granted the church of Crossmichael to the same abbey *in proprios usus* on St. Matthew's day (21 Sept.) 1331 (*Reg. Av.* 226, 338).]

<sup>2</sup> [The part of the record where the name occurs is not printed in A.P.]

safe-conduct to Michael, prior of Whitherne, who has been elected by the chapter to the see, void by death, and is immediately coming to receive confirmation from his metropolitan, John, archbishop of York (B.C. iii. No. 1584). The bishop elect is confirmed 26 June, 1355 (Register of the Dean and Chapter of York; Haddan and Stubbs, 63).

Consecrated in the church of St. Mary 'de Suthwerke,' 12 July, 1355 (a Sunday), by William (Edendon), bishop of Winchester, by virtue of a commission by Thoresby, archbishop of York. The assistant bishops were 'Caesarius ecclesiae Beatae Mariae de Rosis et [blank in MS.] episcopis' (Register of Edendon; Haddan and Stubbs, 63).

The latest notice which I have found of Michael is at 17 Jan. 1357-8, when Michael, suffragan of York, receives from Edward III. a safe-conduct to visit the archbishop of York on diocesan business (*Fœd.* iii. 387).

**THOMAS**, rector of the parish church of Kyrteum (? Kirkcolm), in the diocese of Candida Casa.

Before 31 Dec. 1359, he was provided by Innocent IV. The pope refers to the voidance of the see being caused by the death of Michael. There is no reference to an election in Scotland (but see below). Before the date given above the pope had caused Thomas to be consecrated (at Avignon) by Peter (cardinal) bishop of Ostia. Concurrent letters to the chapter of Candida Casa, to the clergy and people of the diocese, to the archbishop of York, and to David, king of Scotland (T. No. 638).

Though the pope makes no reference to an election, it appears that one Thomas Macdowel, priest of the diocese of Whitherne, professes to have been unanimously elected to the see void by the death of Michael. He states that the pope had provided another person, and petitions for a canonry at Glasgow with reservation of a prebend, notwithstanding that he has the church of Caramul (*sic*). The petition was granted 4 Feb. 1359-60 (C.P.R. Pet. i. 351). Dr. Maitland Thomson has suggested that Caramul is probably 'ecclesia S. Kenere de Carnismul,' *i.e.* Kirkinner.

The last notice I have found of Thomas is when at Perth he acted together with the bishops of Dunkeld and Brechin as

arbiter in a dispute between the bishop and chapter of Glasgow, 2 Sept. 1362 (R.G. i. 271).

For a petition of Thomas, shortly after his consecration, for plenary absolution at the hour of death for eight persons to be named in the chancery—granted, Avignon 21 Jan. 1359-60—see C.P.R. Pet. i. 350.

**ADAM DE LANARK**, a Dominican friar.

Provided 17 Nov. 1363 (E.). On 20 Feb. 1363-4, Edward III. grants a safe-conduct to Adam de Lanark, bishop of Galway (*sic*) in Scotland, then *in partibus transmarinis*, to pass through England to Scotland,—the safe-conduct to last for one year (*Rot. Scot.* i. 881); which, as observed by Haddan and Stubbs, looks as if Adam had been consecrated abroad by authority of the pope.

Adam was in Parliament at Perth 24 July, 1365 (A.P. i. 496). He was bishop 30 Sept. 1367, when he witnessed a charter of David II. at Scone (R.M.S. folio vol. p. 57, No. 174).<sup>1</sup>

A bishop of Galloway (unnamed) was in Parliament 8 March, 1369-70 (A.P. i. 506).

Adam died at the papal court ‘during a vacancy of the Holy See,’ before 13 July, 1379, and is spoken of as the immediate predecessor of Thomas de Rossy (*Avignon Regest.* 217, 524). Now the vacancy in the Holy See here referred to shows that Adam’s death took place between the death of Gregory XI. on 27 March, 1378, and the consecration of Clement VII. on 31 Oct. in the same year.

Keith, citing vaguely, ‘Reg. Chart.’, places an *Andrew* as bishop in 1368 (more properly in the year ending 6 June, 1368, the 39th year of David II.). He seems an impossible person. Perhaps ‘A.’ was wrongly expanded ‘Andrew.’

We have now reached the period of the Great Schism; and it seems better to pursue here the anti-papal succession recognised in Scotland, relegating to an Appendix (p. 375) the consideration of bishops of Galloway who recognised those bishops of Rome who figure in the now accepted lists as the popes, in distinction from the anti-popes.

<sup>1</sup> Haddan and Stubbs are in error, following Keith in dating this charter 30 Sept. 1369. [Bishop Adam is a witness, not to the royal charter, but to the undated charter therein confirmed.]

**THOMAS DE ROSSY** (Rossi), a Franciscan friar, master in theology, apostolic penitentiary.

Provided [in accordance with a Commission granted] by Clement VII. 15 July, 1379, on the death of his predecessor Adam, and on the renunciation of Ingeram, archdeacon of Dunkeld, who had been elected by the chapter (E.). The entry in the *Avignon Regesta* (217, 524), as supplied to me by Dr. Maitland Thomson, states that Clement VII. had provided Ingeram, archdeacon of Dunkeld; but that Ingeram had [as was said] declined to prosecute his claim.<sup>1</sup> The provision was ratified by a Bull dated 29 Oct. 1381 (*Avignon Regest.* 226, 287). He appears to have been consecrated before the second Bull, for 16 July, 1381, is said to be in the second year of his consecration (see below).

Mr. W. Moir Bryce (*Scottish Grey Friars*, i. 29-31) draws from the *Bullarium Franciscanum* many interesting particulars about Rossy. But here it must suffice to say, from Mr. Bryce's account, that Clement VII. revoked the appointment of Oswald to Candida Casa (see App.), and empowered the bishops of Glasgow and St. Andrews to promote either Ingeram, archdeacon of Dunkeld, or Thomas de Rossy. [The bishop of Glasgow accordingly provided and consecrated Thomas.] Oswald appealed to the camera at Avignon (showing that he recognised the anti-popes); but eventually this appeal was referred by Clement to the bishops of St. Andrews and Dunkeld, commanding them to expel Oswald, and put De Rossy in possession, if satisfied that he was canonically provided.<sup>2</sup>

The date of Thomas's consecration can be approximately fixed from an entry in *Avignon Regesta* (226, 296). On 18 Oct. 1381, Clement VII. confirmed a charter of Thomas, bishop of Candida Casa, to Sweetheart Abbey, of the church of S. Colmanel of Botill, dated 16 July, 1381, and of his consecration the second year.

<sup>1</sup> [The Bull says distinctly that the chapter had elected Oswald, prior of Glenluce (see App.), who had resorted to the Roman pope for confirmation; whereupon Clement VII. had deprived him and appointed Ingeram.]

<sup>2</sup> [The author's wording of the last sentence has been slightly altered into conformity to the actual words of the Bull.]

As bishop of *Candida Casa*, Thomas presented a long roll of petitions to Clement VII., all of which were granted 21 Dec. 1381 (C.P.R. Pet. i. 563-4).

On 16 Aug. 1390, at Scone, two days after the coronation of Robert III., according to *Wyntoun* (*Cronykil*, bk. ix. c. 12) :

‘The Byschape off Galloway thare, Thomas  
(A theolog solempne he was),  
Made a sermownd rycht plesand,  
And to the matere accordand.’

Something may here be said of *INGERAM DE KETH-ENYS*, whose name was placed before that of Thomas de Rossy when the bishops of Glasgow and St. Andrews were commissioned by Clement VII. to promote either one or the other. In the first instance, Ingeram, archdeacon of Dunkeld, was selected for Galloway, for, as seen above, Rossy was appointed on the renunciation of Ingeram. Ingeram's acceptance had evidently been expected, for, on 26 Feb. 1278-9, Clement VII. had provided Walter Trail to a canonry, prebend, and archdeaconry of Dunkeld, on their voidance by the consecration of Ingeram de Kethenys to the see of *Candida Casa* (C.P.R. Pet. i. 540).

It is worth observing that we have more material for Ingeram's history than perhaps for that of any ecclesiastic of his time in Scotland. He was a nephew of John de Pilmore, bishop of Moray (30 March, 1326, to 28 Sept. 1362). See C.P.R. Pet. i. 201. An account of his early student days, and of his two brothers at the University of Paris (they were pupils in Paris of Walter de Wardlaw) will be found (in abstract from the registers of the procurators of the English Nation of the University) in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (1895-6), pp. 41-47. He graduated as M.A. in 1347. Many influential persons were interested in the advancement of Ingeram. On 25 Jan. 1344-5, Clement VI. commanded the abbots of Cupar and Scone, and the prior of St. Andrews, to give Ingeram de Kethenys the church of Blaar (C.P.R. iii. 184). In 1347 he petitions for a canonry of Aberdeen, with reservation of a prebend (C.P.R. Pet. i. 110). In 1349 the queen and John,

bishop of Moray, petition that he may be granted a canonry and prebend in Moray (*ib.* 157). In 1350 he appears as secretary of Joan, queen of Scotland, and is described as master of arts, rector of Blare, with a canonry of Moray (his uncle's diocese), with expectation of a prebend, and a canonry of Aberdeen, with expectation of a prebend. The queen, together with Philip, king of France, and the bishop of Moray, petition Clement VI. that Ingeram may be dispensed to hold his church of Blare together with a dignity or office. This petition was granted 13 June, 1350 (*ib.* 201, and C.P.R. iii. 392). Also in 1350 (13 June) he is, at the request of Philip, king of France, and Joan, queen of Scotland, granted a canonry and prebend of Glasgow, notwithstanding that he was rector of Blare, and held a canonry in Aberdeen and a canonry in Moray, with expectation of a dignity in the latter cathedral (C.P.R. iii. 414).

There is a monumental slab now built into a recess in the north wall of the parish church of Tealing in Forfarshire bearing an inscription as follows (expanding the contractions) : '¶ heyr lyis Ingram of kethenys prist maystr in arit ersdene of dunkeldyn made in his xxxii yhere prayis (?) for hym yat deyit hafand lx (followed by a blank space) yherys of eyld in the yher of cryst M: ccc: lxxx (a blank space).' It would seem that this slab was inscribed during his life-time, and that spaces were left for adding the exact year of his age and the year of his death. See a paper on this inscription by Bishop Dowden in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1902-3, pp. 245-251. The church of Tealing was the prebend of the archdeacon of Dunkeld.

Rossy lived presumably till shortly before the appointment of his successor.

**ELISAEUS ADOUGAN** (Adogan), provost of Lincluden, provided on the death of Thomas by Benedict XIII. (anti-pope), 28 May, 1406 (E.).

He was the first provost of Lincluden after its erection into a collegiate church. Elisaeus Adogan (25 Nov. 1390) received a dispensation to retain the parsonage of Kirkmaho along with the provostry of Lincluden, which Archibald, earl of Douglas, founder thereof, was conferring upon him (*Reg. Avin.* 268,

211);<sup>1</sup> the date of the commission to the bishop of Glasgow to suppress the nunnery of Lincluden and erect the provostry was 7 May, 1389 (*Reg. Avin.* 259, 471). Keith says that he had seen a charter of Elisaeus of 1412, which year he styles the seventh year of his consecration. He gives his authority as 'Autogr. penes Will. Macdowal de Garthland.' It is to be regretted that Keith did not record the month and day, but he has given us enough to show that the consecration must have been near the date of provision.

It may be observed that the first name in the roll of petitions (1381) of his predecessor, Thomas, is 'Elisaeus Adovgan, rector of Gevilston,' and that the second name is 'Gilbert called Cawan,' who was probably the Gilbert Caven elected to Candida Casa after Elisaeus (C.P.R. Pet. i. 563).

**THOMAS DE BUTIL**, archdeacon of Whitherne, and auditor of the papal palace.<sup>2</sup> Provided by Benedict XIII. 14 June, 1414 (E.). On the voidance of the see, Gilbert Caven, bachelor of canon law, was elected by the chapter of Whitherne. But the pope (Benedict XIII., anti-pope) promoted to the see Thomas de Butil, papal chaplain and auditor. Caven petitions for the archdeaconry of Whitherne, value £40, on its voidance by the consecration of Thomas de Butil. Benedict XIII. grants this petition on 20 June, 1415 (C.P.R. Pet. i. 603). On the same day Benedict grants the petition of Alexander Barber for the church of Abernit, value £20, in the diocese of Dunkeld, void by the consecration of Thomas Butil. On the same day a petition of Richard Crech for the church of Kinkel, in the diocese of Aberdeen, value 6 florins of Aragon, void by the consecration of Thomas de Butil, is granted (*ib.*).<sup>3</sup>

Thomas, bishop of Candida Casa, testifies to an *inspeximus* at

<sup>1</sup> [On 24 June, 1406, Elisaeus, lately provided to the bishopric, was licenced to retain the provostry of Lincluden, of which the buildings were still unfinished, and the parsonage of Kirkmaho (*Reg. Avin.* 324, 500).]

<sup>2</sup> [See the author's note in *Lindores*, 282-3.]

<sup>3</sup> [On 5 Sept. 1415, Benedict XIII. granted mandate to the subdean of Glasgow to protect Bishop Thomas in the possession of his temporalities (*Reg. Av.* 347, 581).]

Perth, 17 March, 1415-6 (A.P. i. 588; see also R.G. 310). He assisted [by proxy] at a general council of the Scottish church on 16 July, 1420 (S.E.S. ii. 77). He died (see next entry) probably in the autumn of 1422.

**ALEXANDER VAUS**, bishop of Caithness, translated by Martin V., 4 Dec. 1422. He was at the Apostolic See when translated (C.P.R. vii. 408). The see void by the death of Thomas (B.; E.; C.P.R. vii. 287). Before taking possession he is to take the oath of fealty to the Roman pontiff in the presence of the bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld: papal mandate of 25 March, 1423 (*ib.* 298).

Boece (E.A.V. 40) gives Alexander the name of Vaus, and states that it was by his exertions that Thomas Spens was advanced to be his successor. It is clear that Vaus continued to live after the appointment of Spens, for Boece states that Spens would never allow himself to be styled bishop or lord in the presence of the old man. Vaus was bishop of Candida Casa, 24 July and 6 Sept. 1444 (R.M.S. ii. 271, 272).<sup>1</sup> The bishop of Candida Casa was in Parliament at Perth, 10 March, 1429-30 (A.P. ii. 28). In R.M.S. ii. we find him at Treyff witnessing a confirmation of a charter of Margaret, duchess of Touraine and countess of Douglas, 26 Nov. 1426 (No. 86), and another charter of the same, 22 Sept. 1429 (No. 133). For July and Sept. 1444 (Nos. 271, 272). His resignation of the see was probably shortly before the appointment of Spens.

**THOMAS SPENS** (Spence), protonotary apostolic (E.), successor of Moray. Eubel gives the date of his provision (from *Obligaz.*) as 7 Jan. 1449-50. On 27 May, 1450, his proctor offered 100 gold florins and five *minuta servitia* (B.).

His consecration: 1 April, 1470, is in the 23rd year of his consecration (R.A. i. 308). If this can be trusted, he was consecrated in the year ending 1 April, 1448, which looks as though he were first a co-adjutor to Vaus.<sup>2</sup>

He receives from Henry VI. a safe-conduct to go to Newcastle and Durham on 5 July, 1451 (*Fœd.* xi. 286); and on

<sup>1</sup> [Also 4 Aug. 1429 (Reg. Ho. Cal. No. 280).]

<sup>2</sup> [See note under Aberdeen, p. 127.]

27 July in the same year he was appointed by James II. as ambassador to England (*ib.* 287). He is at Edinburgh on 24 July (R.M. No. 192).

He witnesses a confirmation of James II. at Edinburgh, 30 Oct. 1454 (R.A. i. 265). He is keeper of the Privy Seal and bishop of Candida Casa on 30 April, 1458 (R.M.S. ii. 606), and onwards to 3 March, 1458-9. He is bishop of Aberdeen, 10 March, 1458-9 (*ib.* 686).

For the date of his translation to Aberdeen, see Aberdeen, Ingeram de Lindesay and Thomas Spens. His recognition by the king as bishop of Aberdeen would be determined by the grant of the temporality, and this need not cast doubt upon the date of the papal translation.

Arms: Quarterly, 1st and 4th (on two pallets four lozenges, two and two in pale?); 2nd and 3rd, three martlets (Macdonald, *Armorial Seals*, No. 2516). His arms as bishop of Aberdeen as given by Macdonald are different: see Aberdeen.

**THOMAS VAUS**, M.A., dean of Glasgow. [He, Thomas Vaus, of Aberdeen diocese, was admitted as a bachelor *ad eundem* in Paris, 1445, and graduated as a licentiate there, 1447 (*Auct. Chart. Univ. Paris.* ii. 646, 692). This record shows that he had a brother, Martin, presumably the same who was dean of Ross in 1478 and 1487 (*Orig. Paroch. Scot.* ii. 573).]

E. gives the date of his provision as 21 Nov. 1457. On 26 Nov. 1457 (the same day on which Spens made his payments on translation) Henry Liberton made payment of 100 gold florins, and five *minuta servitia*, in the name of 'Thomas, elect of Candida Casa' (B.). Some hitch must have occurred, for Vaus continues dean of Glasgow as late as 19 July, 1459 (A.P. ii. 84), while the next bishop *obligavit* on 22 Dec. 1458. Thomas Vaus had been [keeper of the Privy Seal (E.R. vi. 146), and] secretary of James II. (R.M.S. ii.).

**NINIAN SPOT**: *obligavit*, 22 Dec. 1458 (E.). Master Ninian de Spot appears frequently in the Great Seal Register as 'compotorum rotulator' from 25 July, 1457 (ii. 605), and sometimes 'compotorum rotulator et canonicus Dunkeldensis' up to 3 March, 1458-9 (*ib.* 683).<sup>1</sup> He is admitted to the

<sup>1</sup>[He had also been comptroller from 1 May to 15 Oct. 1456 (E.R. vi. 289).]

temporality of Candida Casa, 27 April, 1459 (R.M.S. ii. 698). He appears at Perth as 'elect confirmed,' 12 March, 1458-9 (*Hist. MSS. Commission, Report* v. 629). He witnesses as 'episcopus Candide Case,' 16 April, 1459 (Holyrood, 148). On 27 Oct. 1459 Pius II. deals with the appointment to the parish church of Nelbland (*sic*—probably Newlands) in the diocese of Glasgow, void by the promotion of Nivianus, bishop of Candida Casa (T. No. 796).<sup>1</sup>

Ninian is in Parliament in 1459, 1462, 1467, 1476, and 1 June, 1478 (A.P. ii.). His last appearance as a witness of charters under the Great Seal is 22 July, 1476 (R.M.S. ii. 1249). [He was auditor in exchequer for the last time, 12 June, 1480 (E.R. ix. 1).]

It was during the episcopate of Ninian that Sixtus IV. published his Bull (17 Aug. 1472), making Galloway a suffragan see of St. Andrews. The archbishop of York renewed his claim, but in vain.

**GEORGE VAUS**, M.A., presbyter of the diocese of Candida Casa, 9 Dec. 1482 (E.).

On 9 Oct. 1483 he appears before the lords auditors on behalf of Patrick Vaus, of whom he was tutor, in a suit concerning the occupation of certain lands, against Sir William Stewart of Dalswinton and Euphame his spouse. The decree is in his favour (*Act. Audit.* 116\*). From the same source (126\*) we learn that George had been parson of Wigton during the vacancy of the see.

George was among the bishops in Parliament, 13 March, 1503-4 (A.P. ii. 273). [He sits as a lord of council twice, 11 March, 1504-5, and 11 Jan. 1506-7 (*Acta Dom. Conc.* xvi. 190; xviii. pt. ii. 80).] He is alive 25 Oct. 1507 (R.S.S. i. No. 1564). He was dead before 29 Jan. 1507-8; for on 30 Jan. the king attended at a soul's mass for the bishop of Galloway (Tr.A. iv. 37, 38). On 17 July, 1508, a grant of the temporality of Galloway was made to James (Beaton), abbot of Dunferm-

<sup>1</sup>[Ninian's promotion left vacant also a canonry of Dunkeld, with the prebend of Menmure, which was conferred on John Balfour, afterwards bishop of Brechin (Roman Transcripts, Public Record Office).]

line, treasurer, 'ay and quhill the provisioun and bullis of the sammyn be cummyn within the realme' (R.S.S. i. No. 1707).

George appears frequently as 'bishop of Candida Casa and of the Chapel Royal' (Stirling) in R.S.S. i. The more correct style is 'bishop of Candida Casa and dean of the Chapel Royal,' as we have it in R.S.S. (i. No. 1318).

**JAMES BEATON**, provost of Bothwell, notary apostolic. Postulated by the chapter of Galloway, but the postulation was not regarded at Rome. He was provided *simpliciter* by the pope on 12 May, 1508:<sup>1</sup> see the evidence adduced under Glasgow, James Beaton I. On 1 Aug. 1508 [he is styled bishop of Candida Casa (see under Glasgow)]. He was elected by the chapter to Glasgow on 9 Nov. 1508. He was provided to Glasgow by the pope 19 Jan. 1508-9, and the Bulls of provision, granted *simpliciter*, were read at Glasgow 8 April, 1509 (see under Glasgow).

**DAVID ARNOT**. He was archdeacon of Lothian (1501): provided to the abbey of Cambuskenneth 19 March, 1502-3<sup>2</sup> (B.). [His provision to Galloway was dated 29 Jan. 1508-9 (E.).]<sup>3</sup> He was admitted to the temporality as 'bishop of Candida Casa and of the Chapel Royal' on 27 May, 1509 (R.S.S. i. 1889). He appears as 'bishop of Candida Casa' a few days earlier, 18 May (R.G. ii. 520). [On 18 April, 1510, he was provided to the abbacy of Tongland, for which on 7 May he offered 50 florins (*Obligazioni*).]

In 1516 (3 April) he received from James V. a special protection, safeguard, and respite on going on the king's embassy to the king of England (R.S.S. i. 2736). Letters of credence for him and the bishops of Dunblane and Caithness, and the earls of Morton, Eglinton, and Cassillis, had been issued on the preceding 27 Jan. [The embassy reached Berwick 10 April (*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* ii. 1442, 1757).]

<sup>1</sup> [He offered 100 florins on 12 June, 1508 (*Soluzioni*), and obliged himself for the *commune servitium* of Galloway and of the abbacy of Dunfermline commended to him, 11 July (*Obligazioni*).]

<sup>2</sup> [In a Vatican MS. the date is Wednesday, 29 March, 1503; the 29 March was a Wednesday that year.]

<sup>3</sup> [On 13 March he offered 100 florins, and 183 florins more if the union of the Chapel Royal to the see should take effect (*ib.*).]

In 1516-7 (18 Feb.) he witnesses as 'bishop of Candida Casa and of the Chapel Royal, Stirling, and perpetual commendator of the monastery of Tungland' (R.M.S. iii. 145).

He witnessed a Great Seal charter (not in the printed Register) by James V. with consent of the duke of Albany, governor, on 28 March, 1522 (*Laing Charters*, No. 333).

David resigned Candida Casa in 1525; but retained an interest in the revenues.<sup>1</sup> Original charters (now in the Register House) show David as bishop and usufructuary consenting to a deed of his successor, Henry (7 June, 1535), and also to another charter of Henry (10 July, 1536). David was dead before 25 Aug. 1537, when a papal commission ratified the latter charter (Reg. Ho. Cal. Nos. 1108, 1132, 1154).

Early ecclesiastical preferments of David Arnot. He was presented by the king to the rectory of Kirkforthir, 19 Sept. 1497. Presented by the king (the see of St. Andrews being void) to the archdeaconry of Lothian, 26 Oct. 1498, and he resigned Kirkforthir. He is described as provost of Bothwell on the occasion of a grant made to him by the king of a tenement in Linlithgow, 20 Sept. 1499. He had resigned the prebend and canonry of Ayr in Glasgow Cathedral before 19 Sept. 1503. For these see R.S.S. i.

David was of the family of Arnot of Arnot in Fife (compare R.M.S. ii. 3083).

Arms: A chevron between two stars in chief and a crescent in base (Macdonald's *Armorial Seals*, No. 42).

**HENRY WEMYS**, archdeacon of Candida Casa [and parson of Outherdekan (evidently Auchterderran), in St. Andrews diocese (E.)].

On 24 Jan.<sup>2</sup> 1525-6 the pope provided to Candida Casa, void by the resignation of David, Henry, archdeacon of the same, with retention of all his benefices. Half of the fruits were reserved to David, as also 'regressus per cessum aut decessum,' *i.e.* the right of resuming the bishopric in the event

<sup>1</sup> [Earlier in the same year he resigned the *commenda* of Tongland in favour of another David; and on 21 July, 1525, was granted the fruits thereof for his life, and regress in case of the decease or demission of the new abbot (*Reg. Lat.* 1470, 155).]

<sup>2</sup> [E. says 23 Jan.]

of the resignation or death of Henry. The Bulls of Clement VII. are dated 30 Jan. 1525-6. On 2 March, 1525-6, Henry, elect of Candida Casa and of the Chapel Royal, Stirling, *obtulit* 100 gold florins, the *taxa* (B.).

We find Master Henry Wemys 'official of Candida Casa,' 18 Feb. 1516-7 (R.M.S. iii. 145).

In the papal provision of his successor, Andrew Durie, Henry is named 'Henry Wemys.'<sup>1</sup>

[He was also commendator of Dundrennan, to the temporality of which he was admitted 24 April, 1530 (R.S.S. viii. 181).]

He appears occasionally in Parliament, and very frequently as a witness of charters under the Great Seal, the date of the last appearance being 14 March, 1540-1 (R.M.S. iii. 2303). He was dead shortly after this, for on 25 May, 1541, Andrew Durie, then abbot of Melrose, had a gift of the temporality of the bishopric of Galloway and abbey of Tongland during the vacancy (R.S.S. xv. 7). James V., writing to Paul III. on 3 July, 1541, says Henry, bishop of Candida Casa, had lately departed this life, and requests that Andrew, abbot of Melrose, should be given the bishopric, together with the monastery of Tongland 'ad mensam episcopalem,' also that he might be dispensed from wearing the Cistercian habit. Andrew was to resign Melrose (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* ii. 115).

There is a short autograph letter of Henry (5 July, 1536) reproduced in facsimile in *Charters of the Abbey of Crosraguel*, (i. 98).

**ANDREW DURIE** (Dury), abbot of Melrose.

Obviously in response to the request of James V. (cited above) Andrew was provided to Candida Casa, 'void by the death of Henry Wemys' on 22 Aug. 1541. He is required to resign Melrose (B.).

On 3 April, 1542, James Salmond, in the name of Andrew Durie, elect of Candida Casa, *obtulit* 150 gold florins (B.).

<sup>1</sup> [The statement of K. that he is styled brother, or natural brother, of James V. is a mistake. K. had doubtless seen and mispunctuated one of the royal charters (e.g. R.M.S. iii. 848), in which his name is immediately followed in the testing clause by that of the king's natural brother, James, earl of Moray.]

Andrew is in Parliament in March, 1542-3 (A.P. ii. 410). He was at St. Andrews with the primate, [who was his cousin, see below,] and other ecclesiastics 14 Nov. 1543 (R.M.S. iii. 2985); and again at St. Andrews in Oct. 1544 (*ib.* 3029); and again with the primate and the bishop of Dunblane, together with the abbots of Dunfermline, Lindores, Cupar, and Jedburgh, 10 Feb. 1544-5 (R.M.S. iii. 3065). It was a time of much activity against 'Lutheran' heretics.

He accompanied the queen dowager to France 7 Sept. 1550 (Knox, *Works*, i. 241-2).

His last important public appearance was his signing (14 Dec. 1557) with other prelates, nobles, etc., the commission of the procurators and commissioners to go to France and treat of the marriage of Mary with the Dauphin (A.P. ii. 514). He died probably in Sept. 1558. Knox (*Works*, i. 261-2) attributes his death to the shock caused by the riot and violence of the protestant mob in Edinburgh on St. Giles' day (1 Sept.). Lesley (Bannatyne Club edit. 267) points to his death being about this time.

Some particulars as to the earlier history of Andrew Durie: he was, according to Keith, a son of the house of Durie in Fife (near Leven).<sup>1</sup> He was provided to the monastery of Melrose, 6 Oct. 1525, of which the revenue was 3000 and the taxa 1880 florins (B.). [He was admitted to the temporality of Melrose 17 Dec. 1526 (R.S.S. i. 3584).] He is, as abbot of Melrose, a witness at St. Andrews 22 July, 1527 (R.M.S. iii. 482). Various deeds of Andrew dealing with the lands belonging to Melrose will be found confirmed in R.M.S. George Durie, commendator of Dunfermline, is said by Keith to have been his brother.

#### ALEXANDER GORDON, archbishop of Athens.

See under Glasgow and under the Isles. So far as is known he never received a papal provision to Galloway. He received a tack of the temporality during the vacancy, 18 March, 1558-9 (E.R. xix. 451). He is styled 'Alexander, archbishop of Athens, elect of Galloway and commendator of Inchaffray,'

<sup>1</sup>[He was son of John Durie of that ilk, by Janet, sister of Archbishop James Beton (Wood's *East Neuk of Fife*, 30; corroborated by *Acts and Decrees*, xix. 451, where Janet Durie, heiress of that family, is called his brother's daughter).]

1 Aug. 1560, when he sat in Parliament (A.P. ii. 525). He is elect as late as 5 March, 1563-4 (R.M.S. iv. 1846).

He declared openly for the anti-catholic party in the Parliament of August, 1560, and he was regarded by Knox as one of 'them that had renounced Papistrie and oppenly professed Jesus Christ with us' (*Works*, ii. 88). Knox says (in the year 1566) Gordon 'being now promoted to great dignity as to be of the number of the Lords of the Privy Council, and likewise one of the Session, he would no more be called Over-looker or Over-seer of Galloway, but Bishop' (*ib.* 532). In a letter of the queen, 26 July, 1565, she styles him 'Alexander, bishop of Galloway' (Inchaffray, p. 162).

In 1567 Alexander proposed to resign in favour of his son John (afterwards dean of Salisbury), but the resignation does not seem to have taken effect. After his decease his son George obtained the benefice and title.

Alexander Gordon died 11 Nov. 1575 (*Edinburgh Register of Confirmed Testaments*).

[Arms: Quarterly. 1. Three boar heads couped. 2. Three lion heads erased. 3. Three crescents within a royal treasure. 4. Three fraises (Macdonald, *Armorial Seals*, Nos. 1094, 1095).]

## Appendix

*Containing Notes on those Bishops of Galloway who were appointed by the Popes (as distinguished from the Anti-Popes) during the Great Schism*

**OSWALD**, claustral prior of Glenluce, provided by Urban VI. (or, as he is styled in the anti-papal provision of Thomas de Rossy, 29 Oct. 1381, 'Bartholomew, sometime bishop of Bari'); appointed obviously after the death of Adam de Lanark. On 26 March, 1379, Oswald, bishop of Candida Casa in Scotland, 'as he asserts,' was granted by Richard II. of England a safe-conduct to pass into Scotland in connection with church business entrusted to him by Urban VI. (*Rot. Scot.* ii. 14). His expulsion from the see at the command of Clement VII. will be found noticed under Thomas de Rossy (above). On 5 May, 1388, Oswald had a protection from Richard II. as 'bishop of Galway'

(*sic*), having had to fly 'pro salvazione vitae suae' (*ib.* 93). Various episcopal acts of Oswald in England, as a suffragan of York, are recorded by Haddan and Stubbs (64, 65) with references to the authorities. On 11 Nov. 1392, Oswald granted an indulgence of forty days to those who would pray devoutly in the church of St. Andrew, Newcastle; 'given in the 12th year of our consecration,' which shows that he was consecrated at the close of 1380 or before 11 Nov. 1381 (Russel's Notes to Keith, 572). The latest notice of Oswald recorded by Haddan and Stubbs is at 3 April, 1406, when he was deputed as 'suffraganeus Dunelmensi sede vacante' (*Reg. Scrope*). But there is a later reference to him when Oswald, bishop of Candida Casa, appears as suffragan of Cardinal Thomas Langley, bishop of Durham, in 1416, and receives a fee of £14 6s. 8d. (*Surtees' Durham*, i. p. lvii).

There is a strange account transcribed from some unknown source by Richard Augustine Hay, and preserved in the third volume of his MS. *Diplomata* in the Advocates' Library, which inserts three bishops of Galloway, not otherwise known: David Douglas, after apparently 1369. Douglas dies 25 March, 1373. James Carron is bishop in 1373, who resigns almost immediately after his consecration, and is succeeded by Francis Ramsay, 1373, who 'administered' the see for twenty-nine years, and died 1 Oct. 1402. In Hay's narrative Francis Ramsay is called blessed (*benedictus*) Francis. It is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile this story with what we know on historical evidence. Yet it is conceivable that the popes may have regarded Oswald as no longer bishop of Candida Casa, in consequence of his having appealed to the Camera at Avignon, and may have attempted to keep up a succession for Galloway. It will be observed that Francis Ramsay is said to have *administered* the diocese, which may be an expression dictated by the belief that he was not formally its bishop. We are unable to say how much of the story is the work of fancy. The narrative is printed in Appendix B of Haddan and Stubbs.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [The narrative is an excerpt from a 'Historia Ordinis SS. Trinitatis,' which commemorates several other Scottish bishops as difficult to fit into the history of their alleged sees as the blessed Francis Ramsay.]

## The Bishops of Argyll or Lismore

THE diocese of Argyll was known also, and indeed more generally, in medieval record as the diocese of Lismore, from the seat of the bishop in the island of that name (lying some eight miles north-west of Oban), and was founded apparently about 1200. It was not one of the Scottish dioceses when Innocent III. [who was crowned] 22 Feb. 1197-8, addressing King William, enumerates the sees (R.G. i. 77).<sup>1</sup> The diocese of Argyll is said to have been founded at the request of John Scot, bishop of Dunkeld, who desired of the pope the separation of the western part of his diocese, because he did not understand the language of the people of those parts, and they knew only their mother tongue (*Scoticam scilicet et Hibernicam*) (Sc. vi. 40).

John Scot, said to have been an Englishman (see Dunkeld, p. 51), suggested to the pope that his chaplain, Haraldus, skilled in both tongues, should be appointed.

**HARALDUS** (Heraldus) was sent for, and appointed and sent back, consecrated, by the pope about 1200 (Sc. vi. 40). There can, I think, be little doubt that the names 'Eraldus,' 'Evaldus,' 'Elvaldus,' are only variants of 'Haraldus,' and that K. is in error in making Evaldus the first bishop and Haraldus the second. Spottiswoode (i. 225) had not fallen into this mistake.

On 17 Aug. 1228 Alexander II. granted to 'Haraldo episcopo de Ayrgaythyl' and his successors three davachs of land, 'wherfore we will that the said bishop and his successors *in ecclesia Lysmorensi* should hold,' etc. (R.M. 25). The date of

<sup>1</sup> [The see is omitted also in the Bull of Honorius III., 1218. Both Bulls simply repeat the list from Clement III.'s Bull of 1188 (S.E.S. i. pp. xxxix-xl).]

Harald's death is unknown ; but it was probably some years before 1236, for in that year (7 July) Gregory IX. writes to the bishop of Moray that on account of the poverty of the see of Lismore it had been committed by the pope to the charge of the bishop of Sodor, who, on account of his infirmities, had prayed to be released of the charge. The bishop of Moray was to release him, and cause the see to be filled by canonical election (T. No. 84). In Paisley (342) we find *Hugo*, bishop of Lismore, dead before 1232. It has been suggested that 'H' had been written in the original, and had been incorrectly expanded,—it having really stood for Haraldus. Again (Paisley, 135) Stephen (probably an error for Symon), bishop of Sodor (see *The Isles*), appears as 'ecclesie Lesmoriensis cure gestor,' so that it appears that the bishop of Sodor had, for a time, acted in accordance with the pope's command.

**WILLIAM**, chancellor of Moray, postulated probably at the close of 1238 ; for on 16 Feb. 1238-9 Gregory IX. sends a mandate to the bishops of Moray, Ross, and Caithness, to inquire into the mode of the postulation of W., chancellor of Moray, to the bishopric of Lismore, value only 25 marks (£16 13s. 4d.), which postulation the pope has been asked to admit, and if they find it to have been made canonically to admit it, and consecrate him (C.P.R. i. 178). It seems that this was done ; for William is bishop of Argyll in 1251 (R.M.S. ii. No. 3136) : but the date 1251 must be an error (see below).

William was drowned at sea in 1241 (M. ; Sc. ix. 57).

The bishopric was vacant for more than seven years ; for on 23 Dec. 1248, Pope Innocent IV. sends a mandate to the bishops of Glasgow and Dunblane, stating that he had been informed that the church of Argyll had been suffering the grief of widowhood 'for seven years and more,' and ordering them to quash any elections which they might find to have been attempted contrary to the canonical form, to prescribe a fixed time before which the canons of the church of Argyll should provide a bishop by canonical and concordant election, failing which, the two bishops were themselves to choose a fit person for the see, and having obtained from him the oath of fealty to the Roman see, to consecrate him (T. No. 139).

Dr. J. Maitland Thomson has pointed out to the author that

to the time of the vacancy after Bishop William's death must be assigned a charter to Inchaffray Abbey preserved at Dupplin, which was sealed with the seal of C.(lement), bishop of Dunblane, 'tempore hujus collationis curam episcopatus Argadie optinentis.' Clement was bishop of Dunblane from 1233 to 1258.<sup>1</sup>

**ALAN.** By whichever of the two ways, referred to above, Alan was elected, we find him 'elect of Argyll' 27 Sept. 1250 (Paisley, 134).<sup>2</sup> He, with William (de Bondington), bishop of Glasgow, executes a kind of Inspeximus of early charters of Paisley (*ib.* 5). He is bishop of Argyll 27 Sept. 1253 (*ib.* 129), 1 Jan. 1261-2 (*ib.* 123). He died 1262 (M.).

**LAURENCE**, a Dominican. On 31 March, 1263 (E.); 31 March, 1264 (C.P.R. i. 411), Urban IV. issued a mandate to the bishops of St. Andrews and Dunkeld to place Laurence, a friar preacher, elected by the dean and chapter, in the see of Argyll, if they find him worthy; to receive his oath of fealty, and to consecrate him. Laurence was the immediate successor of Alan (M.).

We find Laurence bishop of Argyll 20 June, 1268 (Dryburgh, 7); and 'S.' (which must be an error for 'L.'),<sup>3</sup> on 28 June, 1268 (Holyrood, 66); in 1269 (Paisley, 136). He appears in 1275 (R.G. 187), in 1284 (Paisley, 124), and on Thursday next after the feast of SS. Simon and Jude (29 Oct.), 1299 (Paisley, 131).

**ANDREW**, a Dominican. On 18 Dec. 1300 (Eubel, who here is to be preferred to 1299, the year given in the *Argumenta* prefixed to T., the date of the papal letter being 'XV. Kal. Januarii Pontificatus nostri anno sexto'; and Boniface VIII. being elected 24 Dec. 1294, and crowned 23 Jan. 1295)<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Charters of Inchaffray*, p. 65. [Dated by the editors *circ.* 1247.]

<sup>2</sup> [In 1255 he granted an indulgence to visitors to the shrine of St. Cuthbert (*Rites of Durham*, Surtees Soc. 152).]

<sup>3</sup> [S. is undoubtedly the reading of the charter, which is in the Register House (Cal. No. 56).]

<sup>4</sup> Note that this rectification of dates clears the difficulty that would arise from the short space of time between Thursday, 29 Oct. 1299 (the Thursday after SS. Simon and Jude), and the appointment of Andrew, if it were on 18 Dec. 1299.

Boniface VIII. addresses Andrew 'bishop of Argyll.' He recounts that the see had been vacant by the death of Laurence, and that the dean and chapter had met, and had 'quasi per inspirationem divinam' directed their votes *concorditer* to him, Andrew. Further, that he, having obtained the leave of his superior, had consented to the election within the canonical period. Afterwards, with the proctors of the chapter, he went to Rome, and on the decree of the election having been presented to the pope, he had spontaneously and freely resigned all right arising out of the election into the hands of the pope. As the pope had reserved the appointment, he declared the election to be null and void. But the pope appoints Andrew, and afterwards caused him to be consecrated by Theodorius,<sup>1</sup> bishop of Preneste (*Civitatis Papalis*).

Concurrent letters to the clergy and people of 'the city and diocese of Argyll,' to the bishop of St. Andrews, and the guardians of the realm (T. No. 368).

He is bishop 10 Sept. 1304 (R.M.S. ii. 3136).

He has (10 April, 1310) a protection from the king of England (B.C. iii. No. 141).<sup>2</sup> Friar Andrew, bishop of Argyll, receives 100 shillings from the king of England, 26 Dec. 1310 (*ib.* No. 183), and on 14 March, 1313-4, a 'prest' of 10 marks (*ib.* No. 355).

He is bishop of Argyll on 18 Nov. 1327 (Paisley, 137).

Andrew died probably at the close of 1341 or early in 1342: see below, the summary of the pope's letter to Martin (T. No. 564).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The correct form of the name of his consecrator was Theodoric (E. i. 12), who became bishop of Preneste in 1299.

<sup>2</sup> [In 1310 he grants indulgences to visitors to Durham Cathedral (*Rites of Durham*, Surtees Soc. 156). One of these appears to be dated 13 Kal. Dec. 1310, *pontificatus* 13, which does not agree with the dates in the text.]

<sup>3</sup> *David*, 1330. Keith following Spottiswoode (in Russel's edit. vol. i. 225) makes David bishop here in 1330, and refers also to Dalrymple's *Collections*, 227. But Dalrymple finding him in the printed list (Spottiswoode) only tries to place him. K. also states that David was bishop in 1350, but this is impossible; for the vacancy filled by Martin (see below) is declared by the pope to have been caused by the death of Andrew (T. No. 564).

On 15 Jan. 1342-3, Angus de Ergadia, B.C.L., clerk of David, king of Scotland, holding the church of Dunoeng, in the diocese of Argyll, is a claimant to the bishopric of Argyll, the election to which was contested. It is commanded that Angus should be provided to the church of Liston, in the diocese of St. Andrews (C.P.R. iii. 82). He died at the Apostolic See, seeking confirmation there.

A rival claimant on the ground of election was  
**MARTIN**, a Dominican.

He was elect before 20 March, 1341-2, when he, elect of Argyll, with Malcolm of Innerpeffery, elect of Dunkeld, received safe-conducts, to prosecute the business of their elections at the Roman court (*Fœdera*, ii. 1180).

He was appointed by Clement VI., and consecrated before 20 Dec. 1344, when the pope addressed to him the letter recording his appointment and consecration. The letter, from an ecclesiastical view-point, is of considerable interest. It recounts that on the death of Andrew, bishop of Argyll, the chapter, being convened according to custom, concordantly elected Martin, of the order of Preaching Friars (being a priest) 'quasi per inspirationem divinam.' Martin, having obtained leave from his (monastic) superior, assented to the election, and resorted in person to the Apostolic See in the time of Benedict (XII.), the predecessor of Clement, as did also the proctors of the chapter. And the late 'Angusius de Congallis' having arrived at the Apostolic See, stated before Benedict, *minus veraciter*, that he had been elected *canonice et concorditer*, according to ancient and approved custom, by the clergy of 'the city and diocese of Argyll,'<sup>1</sup> to whom, together with the chapter, the right of electing the bishop pertained. Benedict directed that the matter should be examined by Bertrand, bishop of Ostia, and then referred to himself. While the litigation before the

<sup>1</sup>The contention of Angus that the clergy of the diocese as well as the chapter elected to Argyll is borne out by the note attached to Martin's seal to a procuratory of the bishops of Scotland obliging themselves for the redemption of David II., 26 Sept. 1357. The other bishops added the seals of their chapters; but of Martin it is said, 'non habet commune sigillum quia totus clerus eligit' (A.P. i. 294, 515).

bishop of Ostia was being carried on, Benedict died.<sup>1</sup> Pope Clement, having succeeded, directed Bertrand to resume the inquiry. Martin and Angus appeared before Bertrand, and while the process was still in progress Angus died.<sup>2</sup> Thereupon Martin, desiring to prevent the grave inconveniences attendant on the prolonged vacancy of the see, spontaneously resigned all claim arising out of his election into the hands of the pope. According to usage, after resignations of this kind the provision of the see belonged to the pope; and Clement appointed Martin, and caused him to be consecrated by John, bishop of Porto. Concurrent letters were sent, bearing the same date, to the chapter, to the clergy and people 'of the city and diocese of Argyll,' and to David, king of Scotland (T. No. 564).

K. observes that King Edward III. of England recommended to the court of Rome 'Martin de Ergaill, Ergalien. elect,' in the year 1342 (see above), 'for he was of a branch of the ancient lords of Lorn, who were all in the English interest.'

Martin, with six other bishops of Scotland and the kings of France and Scotland, petition for a dispensation for Robert Stewart and Elizabeth More to intermarry, and that their offspring born before marriage should be declared legitimate, which petition was granted by the pope, 22 Nov. 1347 (C.P.R. Pet. i. 124).

On 27 Nov. 1351, the abbots of Dunfermline and Newbattle, acting as conservators of the rights of the Cluniac order, under a commission from Clement VI., sub-delegated to certain canons of Glasgow to deal with an accusation against Martin, bishop of Argyll, that he had taken possession of the tithes and fruits of three churches in his diocese belonging to the monastery of Paisley. The process seems to have been a long one, for it is not till 30 May, 1362, that we find the sub-delegates suspending the bishop *a pontificalibus* for contumacy in not appearing before them, although he was at the time in the

<sup>1</sup> Benedict XII. died 25 April, 1342, so that the election in Argyll must have taken place, *at latest*, early in 1342.

<sup>2</sup> On 22 April, 1345, Clement VI. provides Robert de Den to the church of Liston, in the diocese of St. Andrews, void by the death at the Apostolic See of Angus, bishop-elect of Argyll (C.P.R. iii. 153).

town of Glasgow. On 9 June, however, an amicable composition was made between the parties (Paisley, 140-147).

On 19 Sept. 1357, he, at Ardchattan (Arcatane), appends his seal to letters patent appointing Adam of Lanark, of the order of Preachers, to be his proctor for the ransom of King David (B.C. iii. No. 1646).

**JOHN**, archdeacon of Argyll, elect, provided 26 April, 1387 (E.).

In C.P.R. (Pet.) vol. i. p. 568, we find the following notice: 'Walter, cardinal of Scotland. For the archdeaconry of Argyll or Lismore, on its voidance by the consecration of John, bishop elect of Argyll or Lismore, or by lapse of time, and for dispensation to hold the same together with incompatible benefices. Granted *motu proprio*, and we dispense him. Avignon, 30 May, 1387.' The grantor is Clement VII., anti-pope.

This John is, presumably, the Joannes Dugaldi (? MacDugald), archdeacon of Argyll (value 20 marks), advanced in canon law and formerly the pope's scholar, whose petition for a canonry at Dunkeld with expectation of a prebend was granted 22 July, 1366, by Urban V., who directs that he should be first examined and information given touching the following statements: the church of Argyll, in which is the said archdeaconry, is distant a day's journey from that of Dunkeld, and the dioceses are conterminous: the said John knows the language and idioms of both and speaks them well; he is at present in the Roman court (Avignon), where he was the pope's scholar (C.P.R. Pet. i. 530).

John does not appear, so far as I know, in Scottish record.

**BEAN**, dean of Lismore, elect, provided by Benedict XIII. 17 Sept. 1397 (E.). He had held, in addition to the deanery, the rectory of St. Monevog (doubtless Kilmonivaig: see *Orig. Paroch.* II. i. 174) in Lochaber in the same diocese, value £20 Scots, and had not resigned it after his appointment to the bishopric: and when the lay-patron presented Cristin Dointi (*sic*) to it, the bishop refused collation (C.P.R. Pet. i. 638).<sup>1</sup> His

<sup>1</sup> [This is illustrated by a commission granted by Benedict XIII. to the bishop of Sodor in 1395, which narrates that Alexander, lord of

holding of this parish without licence was contrary to the constitution, 'Excrebilis,' of John XXII. He was absolved from his offence, but compelled to demit the parish by Benedict XIII., 27 June, 1411 (E. i. 251, note). It has been pointed out to me by Rev. John Anderson, of H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh, that Bean is to be identified with Benedict Johannis of the diocese of Argyll, of noble birth, student at Paris in Canon Law, who petitioned in 1388 for the deanery of Argyll, and for a dispensation to hold also the church of St. George Monewog in the same diocese, the fruits of the deanery and the church (which is served by a vicar) amounting to only 60 gold florins (C.P.R. Pet. i. 573). Again in 1389, Dompraldus (*sic*) de Yle, lord of the Isles, petitions for his chaplain, Beanus Johannis Andree, of noble birth, rector of St. Manengs (*sic*) in the diocese of Lismore, for the deanery of Lismore and for a dispensation to hold the said church, served by a vicar, together with the deanery, the fruits of both benefices amounting to only £12 : granted, Clement VII. (anti-pope) (*ib.*).

Possibly (as has been conjectured in the case of Bishop Bene or Benedictus of St. Andrews) we should read 'Benedictus Johannis' as 'Bene dictus Johannis' = Bene called Mac Ian.

**FINLAY** (called, in the consistorial entry, Finlay 'de Albania'), Dominican friar; bachelor *in sacra pagina*.

On 31 Jan. 1419-20, he was provided to the church of Lismore, otherwise Argyll, void 'per vacationem seu mortem,' the election that had been made thereunto being quashed or pretermitted (B.; E.).

Brady gives the date as 27 Jan.; but the original is 'secundo Kalend. Feb. 1420.' He had been elected, but the election was quashed.

On 11 March, 1419-20, 'Finlay, by the grace of God, bishop of Lismore or Argyll, in Scotland,' paid at Florence, for the full payment of one *minutum servitium*, 5 gold florins, 13 shillings, and two pence (B.).

He was no doubt the Finlay of the order of Preachers who

Lochaber, had presented Cristin, called Macalpein, to the church of St. Monewog of Lochaber, but that John, bishop of Argyll, had refused to institute him (*Reg. Avin.* 299, 589).]

was sent to Scotland in 1418 to induce the Scots to separate from the allegiance to the anti-pope (Raynaldus, *Annal. anno 1418*). In a *littera passus* granted by Martin V. 1 March, 1417-8, he is described as 'Finlaus de Albama (error for Albania) Ord. Predic. professor, ac in sacra pagina bacalarius,' and is given power to absolve those in Scotland who had adhered to Benedict XIII. anti-pope (T. No. 739; C.P.R. vii. 6).

The name 'de Albania' is curious. I can only conjecture that it was due to the close connection between Finlay and Murdoch Stewart, duke of Albany. In the struggle between the king and the family of the duke of Albany, Finlay was a thorough-going adherent of the latter. After the duke's arrest it was with the assistance of the bishop that James Stewart, youngest son of the duke, raised the force of highlanders which attacked and burned the town of Dumbarton (3 May, 1425); and when James fled to Ireland as a proclaimed felon, he was accompanied by Finlay, who died in that country shortly afterwards (Sc. xvi. 10).

On 13 May, 1426, Pope Martin V. wrote to the bishops of St. Andrews and Dunblane, stating that the rebellious conduct of Finlay had been brought to his notice, and directing them to summon him to their presence, to inquire into the truth of the allegations, and to send a full report of the whole proceedings to him (the pope). And further, if they find Finlay absent from his diocese they are directed to commit the rule and administration of the diocese to any bishop or other fit person. (The pope's letter is printed in R.B. i. 100-2, and in Wilkins' *Concilia*, iii. 545-6.) Nothing more is known of the proceedings; but it is evident that Finlay's death was not known in Rome at the date of the papal letter.<sup>1</sup>

**GEORGE LAWDER** (of Balcomy in Fife: K.), perpetual vicar of Crail (C.P.R. viii. 15).

<sup>1</sup> In C.P.R. vii. 69, we find Finlay spoken of by Martin V. as bishop of Argyll as early as 4 Kal. Feb. 1417-8. This looks like an error in date, unless we suppose there had been a provision of Finlay previous to that noticed above. [The Bull of 4 Kal. Feb. 1417-8 was not expedited till 14 March, 1419-20, and it may be that its terms were altered then, Finlay having meanwhile been provided to the bishopric. Or it may be ante-dated (see p. 119 note.)]

He had held the hospital of St. Leonard, beside Peebles, which was vacated by his promotion (R.M.S. ii. No. 94).

On 26 May, 1427, Martin V. provided to Lismore, otherwise Argyll, void by death, George de Laderche (*sic*), cousin (*consanguineum*) of the king (B.). On 20 Dec. 1427, he received from Martin V. a faculty to be consecrated by any catholic bishop, assisted by two or three others (C.P.R. viii. 17). He was consecrated before 13 July, 1428 (*ib.* 15). On 9 Jan. 1427-8, Master David Hamilton, dean of Glasgow, in the name of George, elect of Argyll, paid 200 gold florins and five *minuta servitia*. And on 21 April, 1428, George, by the grace of God bishop of Argyll, paid 40 gold florins 'in deductione sui communis servitii,' and also, as full payment of one *minutum servitium*, 44 shillings and 2 pence, by the hands of James Cormigam (*sic*), dean of Aberdeen (B.).<sup>1</sup>

The bishop of Argyll (unnamed) is in Parliament 10 March, 1429-30 (A.P. ii. 28). George witnesses in the presence of the king at Edinburgh 28 June, 1445 (R.B. i. 103).

On 29 Oct. 1453, James II. out of the singular affection he had for George, bishop of Argyll, and in compassion for the poverty of the bishopric, grants to him and his successors the parish church of Dunoon *ad mensam episcopalem* (R.M.S. ii. 3136).

He is in Parliament 7 March, 1460-1 (A.P. Supplement, 28), and seems to have died soon after, for he had a royal grant of the fermes of Dunoon (for life) for the keeping of the castle thereof (E.R. vi. 48), but in 1466 the earl of Argyll claims six years of said fermes, as allowed to himself, and one year preceding the six, granted to the bishop (*ib.* vii. 386).

If Lawder died as suggested above, we have either a long voidance of the see, or we have lost the records of one or more bishops.

**ROBERT COLQUHOUN**, rector of Luss and Kippen. He was brother of Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss (*Act. Dom. Concil.* 122).<sup>2</sup> Keith (who unfortunately does not give his authority)

<sup>1</sup> [The dean of Aberdeen at the date was James Scrimgeour (see C.P.R.).]

<sup>2</sup> [See notices of him in *Chiefs of Colquhoun*, i. 50, 51.]

makes him bishop in 1473. But his provision [in which his name is left blank] is dated 24 April, 1475 (E. ii. 197); and on 8 May, 1475, he pays at the Roman court 112 gold florins and 25 shillings (B. 160).

There was a bishop of Lismore (unnamed) in Parliament on 20 Nov. 1475 (A.P. ii. 108).

Robert, bishop of Argyll, was in Parliament 15 July, 1476 (A.P. ii. 190). He was long in controversy with the monastery of Paisley for his sequestering the fruits of their churches of Colmanell,<sup>1</sup> Kylkeran, and Kyllelan, in his diocese. The matter came before papal judges delegate; and Robert was for contumacy publicly in the church of Glasgow declared excommunicate on 17 April, 1491 (Paisley, 155). In 1489 he was accused of intromitting with the tithes and fruits of his former parish of Luss (*Act. Dom. Concil.* 122).

He was bishop of Argyll 6 Nov. 1492, when the patronage of Kilbery in Knapdale was given him by John, lord of the Isles (R.M.S. ii. No. 3136). The bishop of Argyll (unnamed) sat as one of the lords auditors 20 June, 1493 (*Acta Audit.* 179).

He is mentioned as dead 13 Feb. 1495-6, in the writs of Dumbarton, as cited by Lord Woodhouselee in his MS. notes in a copy of Keith in the possession of the editor of the present list.

Keith inserts here a John, and gives as his authority 'John "episcopus Lismoren." anno 1499 (*Reg. Chart.* B. 14).' It may, I think, be taken that Keith was referring to an entry in the Great Seal Register (R.M.S. ii. No. 2529), where is a confirmation (23 March, 1499-1500) of an earlier royal charter (17 May, 1488), which was witnessed by, among others, 'Will. episc. Aberdon. cancellario, And. episc. Moravien., Johan. episc. Lismoren.' Keith blundered his dates; but the scribe of the Great Seal Register must have blundered his names; for Robert Colquhoun was bishop in 1488.

**DAVID HAMILTON**, clerk of Glasgow, Master of Arts.

Provided by Alexander VI. in Bulls dated 3 April, 1497 (E.; and B.).

He was a natural son of James, lord Hamilton, father of the

<sup>1</sup> [That is, Kilcalmonell in Kintyre.]

earl of Arran, apparently his third son by Janet Calderwood (R.M.S. ii. No. 2034).

On 3 Jan. 1497-8, as elect of Argyll, he pays at Rome, by the hands of another, 110 gold florins (B.).

David Hamilton was a student in Paris in 1501 (E.R. xi. 372). David, bishop of Lismore, was a witness to the marriage settlement of James IV. 13 March, 1503-4 (A.P. ii. 273). He is bishop of Lismore 22 Feb. 1504-5 (Melrose, 601).

In 1506 the king granted to David, bishop of Ergile, all the 'unlaws, compositions, and escheats,' and other profits belonging to the king at the justice airs and sheriff-courts of Ergile, Lorne, Cowall, etc., during the king's pleasure (R.S.S. i. 1196). He had a similar gift later in the same year (*ib.* 1322). The king forbids any hindering the bishop in uplifting his tithes and rents (*ib.* 2069). This was in the year 1510. In 1513 he receives from the king an assignation of lands for the sustentation of him and the keepers of the castle and fortalice in Kintyre (*ib.* 2500).

Hamilton succeeded in getting the abbey of Sagadul (Sandal) in Kintyre united to the bishopric by the pope, which was confirmed by James IV., 1 Jan. 1507-8 (R.M.S. ii. 3170). On 12 March, in the same year, the king, 'compatientiam habens paupertatis episcopatus Lismoren. inter silvestres et indomitas gentes situati,' grants to David and his successors the churches of S. Constantine and S. Michael (both rectories and vicarages) in Kintyre, together with the patronage, to be mensal of the bishop (*ib.* No. 3208).

A royal letter, recommending the bishop for the monastery of Glenluce, though undated, must have been written soon after Flodden (*Cal. Lett. For. and Dom. Henry VIII.* vol. i. No. 4626). But Alexander Cunningham, a monk of Glenluce, had been elected abbot by the convent. Some interesting incidents connected with this contest will be found in *Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 239-241.<sup>1</sup> But the abbey in the end seems to have fallen to Gautier (Gaulter) Malynne, Albany's secretary. (See

<sup>1</sup> [The matter came before the Lords of Council in Jan. 1513-4 (Robertson's *Parliamentary Records*, 541).]

*Cal. Lett. Henry VIII.* iii. No. 1917; and *Act. Dom. Concil.* xxxii. 191, Nov. 1519).

Hamilton was more successful on another occasion. He got the *commendam* of Dryburgh 13 May, 1519: revenues, 400 florins; tax, 150 (B.).

He was bishop, 28 March, 1522 (*Laing Charters*, No. 333).

He was dead before 16 July, 1524 (*Cal. Lett. Henry VIII.* vol. iv. No. 499). Brady, without citing his authority, places his death in 1523.

#### ROBERT MONTGOMERY.

He was son of Hugh, earl of Eglinton (R.M.S. iii. No. 993).

There are some obvious, but not easily explained, errors in the following consistorial entry. On 28 July, 1525, the pope provides to the church of Lismore 'in Hibernia' (*sic*), void by the death of Gallus (*per obitum Galli episcopi*) 'Robert Montguny' (in a Bologna copy 'Mogunry') in his twenty-fourth year, with a dispensation for age, and for homicide 'cui tantummodo interfuit, sed non perpetravit manibus propriis.'<sup>1</sup> Revenue 110, *taxa* 110 florins (B.).

On 30 Sept. 1525, John Thornton, as proctor for Robert Montgomery, elect of Lismore, paid 117 florins and one-third (B.).

He is designated elect and confirmed 7 Feb. 1530-1 (R.G. 542). A decree arbitral pronounced by 'Robert, bishop of Argyll' and others, dated Glasgow, 2 May, 1530, is summarised in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* x. App. i. pp. 24-5. It is among the MSS. of the earl of Eglinton. A comparison of the two notices cited shows the caution which one has to exercise in accepting the use of the word 'bishop' (unqualified) as a proof of consecration at this date.

He died before 29 Aug. 1538, when his brother Neil Montgomery of Langshaw was infeft as his heir in certain lands (*Acts and Decrees*, l. 387).

His sons Michael, Robert, and Hugh, 'bastardi filii naturales quondam reverendi in Christo patris Roberti Ergadie episcopi,'

<sup>1</sup>[Alluding doubtless to the slaughter of Edward Cunningham of Auchinharvie (*vide* R.M.S. iii. 512).]

were legitimated 9 July, 1543 (*Tenth Report of Historical MSS. Commission*, App. i. p. 25).<sup>1</sup>

**WILLIAM CUNYNGHAME**, youngest son of William, fourth earl of Glencairn.

Provost of Trinity College, Edinburgh [which benefice he resigned] 17 Feb. 1538-9 (R.S.S. xii. 69). He had been made provost towards the close of 1532 (*Coll. Churches of Midlothian*, p. xxvi). On 1 Feb. 1538-9 King James V. wrote to Paul III. informing him that the see of Lismore was then void, and that very few sought it. It was a land mountainous and barren ; the revenues were small ; and 'mores diocesanorum feri et inculti.' He commends to the pope William Cunynghame, of six and twenty years of age, 'ex nobili et potenti familia, illi genti vicina.' And he prays that the little monastery (*cenobium*) of Sagadul (Sandal) should be united [as hitherto] to the bishopric 'ob mense episcopalis tenuitatem' (T. No. 1047).

On 7 May, 1539, Cunynghame was provided to 'the church of Lismore in Scotland, void by the death of the late Robert Montgomery.' Cunynghame receives a dispensation for age, he being in his twenty-sixth year. And he is allowed to retain all his benefices. Tax, 110 florins. On 29 May, 1539, he paid by the hand of another 110 florins (B. 161).

On 15 Feb. 1539-40, James V. conferred on 'William, Bisshop of Ergyle,' the right of presenting to all crown benefices 'in the diocy of Ergile' (R.S.S. xiii. 56).

In 1549 he was 'elect, confirmed of Lismore,' and as such was present in the Provincial Council of that year (S.E.S. 82), and does not appear to have been ever consecrated. In the appointment of his successor his resignation is said to be of 'the elect of Lismore.'

He resigned the see into the hands of the pope, probably in the spring of 1553 (see next entry).

In 1555 he was 'dean of Brechin, formerly bishop of Argyll' (*Acts and Decrees*, xii. 30).

<sup>1</sup>At St. Andrews in 1525 his name appears among the students in *Pedagogio* as 'Magister Robertus Montgomery postulatus de Argyll' (David Laing, *Collegiate Churches of Midlothian*, p. cvii).

*JAMES HAMILTON*, natural brother of the duke of Chatelherault.

On 14 July, 1553, he was provided to Lismore, void by the resignation of William Cunynghame, 'elect of Lismore.' Hamilton is described as subdean of Glasgow, and receives a dispensation for defect of birth, being the son of James Hamilton, earl of Arran, then unmarried, and an unmarried woman. He is allowed to retain the deanery (subdeanery?). Tax, 600 florins (B. 161).

It appears that he had been elected, or rather postulated, to the see of Glasgow on the death of Archbishop Dunbar in 1547. [The queen, or rather the governor, wrote to the pope on his behalf (see under Glasgow).]

It does not appear that he was consecrated.

James, bishop of Argyll, is present in Parliament 1 Aug. 1560 (A.P. ii. 525).

He became a protestant.<sup>1</sup>

We find him (1568) signing a bond, with his relations [for defence of Queen Mary] (Keith's *Hist.* ii. 809).

James is bishop of Argyll in 1573 and 1574 (see *Orig. Paroch.* ii. 165, 166).

Mr. James Hamilton, bishop of Argyll and subdean of Glasgow, died 6 Jan. 1579-80 (see Laing, *Collegiate Churches of Midlothian*, p. cviii).

<sup>1</sup>[He married (Canongate Court Book, 1 Oct. 1572), and left at least three sons, one of whom was Paul Hamilton, captain of Arran, ancestor of the Hamiltons of Coats (*Reg. of Deeds*, ccccxcv. 264).]

## APPENDIX

### The Bishops of Aberdeen

#### BISHOPS SINCE THE CLOSE OF THE SUCCESSION OF THE ANCIENT HIERARCHY

##### i. Bishops before 1689

THE writer of these notes has not been able to give as much attention to the chronology of the period after the Reformation as he had bestowed upon the more obscure and difficult medieval period. The notes for the period on which we are now entering are brief; and further research could, in the case of several of the bishops, easily extend them. The material, however, for the study of the post-reformation period is, in most cases, more easily accessible and more abundant. Deficiencies can, therefore, be more readily supplied.

Some particulars hitherto unknown or unverified will be found duly recorded. The Registers of the Great Seal and Privy Seal have yielded some important dates for the period during which Episcopacy was established by the civil law. And for the later period the Register of the College of Bishops has been utilised.

Some new facts connected with Adam Bellenden and David Mitchell when in England are recorded. For Blackburn, Patrick Forbes, and Bellenden (or, as he is there named, Bannantyne) much that is interesting will be found in the New Spalding Club volume of *Selections from Wodrow's Biographical Collections*. The bishops of recent times have, for various reasons, been lightly dealt with.

The writer will be grateful if any of the readers of these notes would acquaint him with what they think errors, so that the points may be investigated, and the necessary corrections added in an appendix.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [This sentence, so characteristic of the writer's attitude, has been allowed to stand.]

It has not been thought necessary in all cases to specify errors in Keith and Russel; they are corrected *sub silentio*.

1. *DAVID CUNYNGHAME* (Cunningham). According to Cullen's Chronicle (*Miscellany*, vol. ii. S.C.), he was the son of the laird [William Cunynghame] of Cunynghamehead (Ayrshire), and became, shortly before his appointment to the see, one of the ministers of Aberdeen. For his earlier appointments, minister of Monkland, subdean of Glasgow, and for some events of his episcopate, see Scott's *Fasti*; Wodrow, *Biographical Collections*; and the editor's introduction (N.S.C.). He is believed by Wodrow to have received orders before the Reformation. [He had a right of some sort to the deanery of Brechin, in satisfaction of which he was granted a pension out of that benefice in March, 1560-1 (Register of Deeds, MS. in Reg. House, v. 112 ff.).]

In the Spottiswoode MS., cited in Russel's edition of Keith, his appointment to the bishopric is said to have been at the intercession of James, earl of Morton, whose chaplain Cunynghame had been in the time of the earl's regency. Gordon, his predecessor in the see, died 6 Aug. 1577. Confirmation by the king of Cunynghame's appointment 5 Oct. 1577. He was 'consecrated' on Monday, 11 Nov. 1577, in St. Nicholas Church, Aberdeen, by Master Patrick Constance (otherwise, Adamson), bishop of St. Andrews, who made the sermon, Master John Craig, minister of Aberdeen, and Master Andrew Strayquhen, minister of (Dun), in the presence of the whole congregation of Aberdeen, with others of the country present for the time (Cullen's Chronicle).

He is in Parliament at Stirling, 12 June, 1578 (A.P. iii. 121), and in various subsequent Parliaments; for the last time in June, 1598 (*ib.* iv. 158). The king's high esteem for Cunynghame may be seen from A.P. iv. 151-3. He founded (1585) a grammar school in Banff for the instruction of the youth in the elements of Greek and Latin. The original charter is in the burgh charter chest. The king refers to some of his benefactions at Banff, 5 July, 1592 (R.M.S. v. 2121). He continued to serve as one of the ministers of Aberdeen after he became bishop.

On 30 Aug. 1594 at the king's command he administered baptism in the Chapel Royal, Stirling, to Prince Henry Frederick (born 19 Feb. 1593-4) amid elaborate and stately ceremonial (described by Spottiswoode): see Calderwood, v. 343-6; Spottiswoode, ii. 456.

He died 30 Aug. 1600 (Lippe's introduction to Wodrow's *Collections*, N.S.C.); and was buried in his cathedral.

He was the only one of those who bore the title of bishop of Aberdeen after the Reformation who was not canonically consecrated.

Arms—(Macdonald's *Armorial Seals*, No. 614) Quarterly. 1st and 4th, a shakefork with a star in chief (Cunningham of Cunninghamhead); 2nd and 3rd, two garbs in fess (Mure of Rowallan). Crest above the shield, an open book with clasps. At the sides, *VAE MIHI SI NON EVANGELIZAVERO*. Supporters, two conies. Motto below the shield, *OVR OVR* (that is, *OVER OVER*).

Cunynghame married Katherine Wallace, who survived him, without issue (Scott's *Fasti*, III. part ii. 884).

*Additional Note.* The General Assembly, which met in the upper Tolbooth, Edinburgh, 10 May, 1586, ordained a citation to summon David Cunningham, bishop of Aberdeen, to compear before the Presbyteries of Glasgow and Stirling on 21 June to be tried 'whether he be guilty of the slander of adultery committed with Elizabeth Sutherland or any other person.' In the General Assembly in the New Kirk, Edinburgh, of 20 June, 1587, the Presbyteries of Glasgow and Stirling excused themselves for the non-execution of the commission. They were enjoined to proceed without delay (Calderwood, iv. 550, 618). The king intervened and declared 'the alleged slander, whereby he was damnified (*i.e.* injured) of before, is sufficiently tried and removed' (*Book of the Universal Kirk*, p. 699). It was not an uncommon practice of the zealots of the General Assembly to vilify the bishops by making grave charges against them. Thus, Adamson, archbishop of St. Andrews, was accused of resorting to witches. The accusations need not be regarded as more than manifestations of the venomous rancour of party.

**2. PETER BLACKBURN**, minister of the parish kirk of Aberdeen (admitted 22 Nov. 1582, Cullen's *Chronicle*). According to Keith, he was born in Glasgow, and taught philosophy in the university. Minister of the East Kirk, Aberdeen, 1596. Moderator of General Assembly 7 March, 1597-8. He took an active part in earlier assemblies. Promoted to the bishopric 2 Sept. 1600. Consecrated at the cathedral of Brechin (together with the bishop of Caithness) shortly before 3 May, 1611, by the archbishop of St. Andrews (Gladstones), assisted by the bishop of Dunkeld (Lindsay), and the bishop of Brechin (Lamb): *Original Letters* (Bannatyne Club), i. 270. These two were the last of the then bishops of the province of St. Andrews to receive consecration from bishops whose consecration can be traced to the three bishops consecrated in the chapel of

London House on Sunday, 21 Oct. 1610, by the bishops of London, Ely, Rochester, and Worcester. The bishop of Caithness, who was consecrated at the same time with Blackburn, was Alexander Forbes, his immediate successor at Aberdeen.

For notices of his earlier history and his episcopate, see Wodrow (N.S.C.), 66-79, and Dr. Lippe's sketch in the introduction to that work (pp. lv, lvi).

He continued to be 'ane of the ordinar ministeris of the said burght (of Aberdeen)' after his elevation to the episcopate: *Records of the Kirk Session of Aberdeen* (S.C.), p. 30.

Calderwood (vi. 494) relates that, on the occasion of the riding of the bishops to the Parliament in July, 1606, 'Mr. Peter Blekburne, bishop of Aberdeene, thought it not beseeming the simplicitie of a minister to ryde that way in pompe: therefore he went on foote to the parliament hous. The rest of the bishops caused the chancellor remove him out of the parliament hous, becaus he would not ryde as the rest did.' Whether this is true or not, the bishop of Aberdeen does not appear among the bishops present (A.P. iv. 280). He, with eleven other bishops, is in the Parliament at Edinburgh 27 Jan. 1609 (A.P. iv. 405). He was a member of the High Court of Commission in 1610 and 1615 (see introduction to Wodrow, N.S.C.).

Blackburn died 14 June, and was buried 16 June, 1616 (*Records of the Kirk Session of Aberdeen*, S.C. p. 84).

He is said to have written a treatise against James Gordon, the Jesuit. I have not seen the book; nor have I found any book under his name in Aldis's *List of Books printed in Scotland before 1700*. It may have been anonymous, or it may have been printed in England. The learned librarian of the University of Aberdeen, Mr. P. J. Anderson, informs me that he has not traced the book, and he considers that the statement is based on Maidment's *Catalogue of Scottish Writers* (1833), p. 2.

3. **ALEXANDER FORBES**, bishop of Caithness (to which he had been promoted 12 Nov. 1606).

Translated to Aberdeen 16 July, 1616; but this was kept secret, and Forbes writing on 17 Aug. 1616 acknowledges that he denied that any signature had passed.<sup>1</sup> For politic reasons it was sought to keep expectants in hopes: *Orig. Letters* (Bannatyne Club), ii. 485. His 'installation' was deferred to 23 Feb. 1617. This was at

<sup>1</sup> [The date of the signature is 21 Aug. (R.S.S. lxxiv. 343), so the bishop was telling the truth, though not the whole truth.]

St. Andrews, and, presumably, means his admission by the archbishop. He had been consecrated at the same time as his predecessor in the see of Aberdeen : see above, Peter Blackburn.

He signed, together with the archbishop of St. Andrews and the bishops of Galloway and Brechin, the letter of remonstrance to the king in regard to the images ordered for the decoration of the chapel at Holyrood on the occasion of the king's visit in 1617 (Spottiswoode, iii. 239). The bishops were severely scolded by the king in a letter dated, Whitehall, 13 March, 1617 (*Orig. Letters*, ii. 497-9), but the remonstrance had its desired effect (see the bishop of Galloway's letter to Patrick Simpson, minister at Stirling, dated 26 May, 1617, in Calderwood's *History*, vii. 244). He is in Parliament at Edinburgh 17 June, 1617 (A.P. iv. 524).

That when bishop of Caithness he was rarely in his diocese is alluded to in some scurrilous Latin verses of the year 1609 :

‘Rarus adis parochos, O Catanee, tuos.’

The verses are printed in Calderwood.

Seven letters of Alexander Forbes are printed in *Orig. Letters*.

Alexander Forbes (who was 'deadlie sick' on 25 Nov.) died at Leith 14 Dec. 1617 (Calderwood, vii. 284, 287; Wodrow, N.S.C. 87). Scott (*Fasti*, iii. ii. 884) says, very circumstantially, that he died 24 Nov. 1617 at Warburton in the parish of Ecclesgreig ; but this seems to be an error.<sup>1</sup>

For his marriage and numerous family, see Macfarlane's *Genealogical Collections*, ii. 242. Macfarlane states that the bishop was a son of John Forbes of Ardmurdo (in the parish of Kinkell) by Helen Graham of Morphie.

4. **PATRICK FORBES**, of Corse, minister of the parish of Keith.

Born at Corse Castle 24 Aug. 1564 ; educated at Glasgow and St. Andrews ; not ordained till 1611 ; ordained for Keith. Much information as to the family and history of Patrick Forbes is in *Funerals of a Right Reverend Father in God Patrick Forbes of Corse, Bishop of Aberdene*. Aberdene : 1635 : reprinted (with a valuable biographical memoir by C. F. Shand) 1845, by the Spottiswoode Society. Compare also Wodrow's account in *Biographical Collections* (N.S.C.) edited by Rev. R. Lippe, 1890.

<sup>1</sup> [His testament in the Commissary Register of St. Andrews says he died at Leith on 24 Nov. 1617.]

In a letter dated, Newmarket, 27 Jan. 1618, the king informed 'the archbishops and bishops of our kingdom of Scotland' that he had made choice of Patrick Forbes to fill the vacant see, and requires all the necessary writs to be sent to him for signature (*Orig. Letters*, ii. 542-3). On 5 Feb. 1618 the king's letter, accompanied by a kind letter of their own, was sent to Forbes from Edinburgh by the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow and the bishops of Ross, Caithness, Lismore, and Moray (*ib.* 543-5).

The *congé d'éluire* and the royal recommendation of Forbes had reached Edinburgh from the king, but had not passed the seal 16 Feb. 1618 (*ib.* 550-1). He was elected, unanimously, 24 March, 1618, by the chapter and commissioners from all the presbyteries in the diocese (see the letter of David Reit, dean, in the Biographical Memoir (p. lxiv) prefixed to the *Funerals*, Spottiswoode Society, and p. 208). But it is worthy of notice that the certification of his election is signed only by the chapter (*Funerals*, 207-9). The king signed the provision (afterwards to pass the Great Seal) and the mandate for the consecration (afterwards to pass the Privy Seal) 8 April, 1618 (*ib.* 214).

Consecrated 17 May, 1618, at St. Andrews, by John, archbishop of St. Andrews, Alexander, bishop of Dunkeld, and Andrew, bishop of Brechin (*Funerals*, 214-6). 'Induced and enthronized' by the archdean of Aberdeen, 'by deliverie of the Word of God inclosed within a Bible,' 26 May, 1618 (*ib.* 216).

He was struck with apoplexy in 1632, losing the use of his right side, and was forced to learn to subscribe with his left hand. He was too ill to be present at the coronation of Charles I. in 1633 (Spalding's *Memorials*, i. 31, 37).

Patrick Forbes died 28 March (Easter Eve) 'in confinio noctis et aurorae,' 1635; and his body, after lying in state in St. Ninian's chapel on the Castle Hill, was buried (9 April) in the cathedral between the graves of Bishops Dunbar and Cunynghame (*Funerals*, xciv).

Patrick Forbes's seal (signet) bore arms: three bear heads couped and muzzled with a passion cross at fess point (Macdonald's *Armorial Seals*, No. 951). Prefixed to Wodrow's *Biographical Collections* (N.S.C.) is an excellent photogravure portrait of Forbes from the painting in the possession of the University of Aberdeen.

*Published Works.* A bibliography by Mr. Shand will be found in his edition of the *Funerals*, pp. xcix-cxvi.

There are several letters of Patrick Forbes in *Orig. Letters* (Bannatyne Club).

He married in 1589 Lucretia Spens, daughter of David Spens of Wormiston (*Funerals*, xxxvii), and had three sons: (1) William, who died without issue; (2) John, the distinguished professor of Divinity at Aberdeen; (3) Robert (Macfarlane, *Genealogical Collections*, ii. 259).

5. **ADAM BELLENDEN** (Ballantyne, Bannatyne, Bannantyne),<sup>1</sup> bishop of Dunblane, to which see he (then rector of Falkirk) had been advanced towards the close of 1615.<sup>2</sup> He was consecrated before 14 April, 1617, when he was 'admitted bishop.'

According to Keith he was a son of Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoul, justice-clerk (died 1577); and thus we learn that he was a younger brother of Sir Lewis Bellenden, who also attained the rank of justice-clerk (1578). Adam took his M.A. at Edinburgh in 1590.<sup>3</sup>

As holding the office of dean of the Chapel Royal, attached at this period to the bishopric of Dunblane, Bellenden was concerned with the introduction of the English Book of Common Prayer into the Chapel Royal of Holyrood. On this subject several letters of Archbishop Laud to Bellenden will be found in Wodrow's *Biographical Collections* (N.S.C. pp. 115-23). From these it appears that Bellenden had hoped to be advanced to the see of Edinburgh on the death of William Forbes; but it is plain that he was not very successful in managing the affairs of Holyrood Chapel, and also for other reasons was not acceptable to Laud. In a letter of Laud to Bellenden, dated Lambeth, 19 May, 1635, he announces that the king had declared his pleasure that Bellenden should have the bishopric of Aberdeen, and he adds, 'But being an university and place of consequence, he (the king) will have you reside there, and relies more upon you for your well ordering of that place'; a very significant hint that Bellenden should not be much in Edinburgh, where he had given the king no great satisfaction.

On 23 Sept. 1635 the bishop entered the assembly of the provost, baillies, and council of Aberdeen, who were convened to elect the council and magistrates for the ensuing year, and forbade them proceeding till the pleasure of the king and privy council was learned. The town council, however, resolving on a vote to proceed, the bishop, as one of the lords of the privy council, commanded that the

<sup>1</sup> He himself spelled his name 'Bellenden'; see *Original Letters*.

<sup>2</sup> [23 Sept. 1615 (*Scott's Fasti*).]

<sup>3</sup> Wodrow says he meets with him at Falkirk in 1595. He was ordained 12 July, 1593.

meeting should be dissolved, which was done (*Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1625-42*, pp. 80-3).

Deposed and excommunicated by the General Assembly of 1638 (13 Dec.): *Acts of the General Assembly* (edit. Church Law Society).

After his excommunication he continued to preach and officiate in Old Aberdeen; and on Sunday, 23 Dec. 1638, administered the Communion. He left the palace for New Aberdeen, 22 March, 1639. After his flight to Berwick 27 March, he returned to Aberdeen (19 May); but had again to fly (23 May) by ship (Spalding's *Memorials*).

He is said to have received a pension from the king of £100 and to have been instituted (under another name) to the parish of Porlock, Somerset, in 1642, where he died in 1647, aged about seventy-eight (Dr. Lippe in introduction to Wodrow's *Biographical Collections*, lxi.). Through the courtesy of Rev. W. H. Boyne Bunting, now (1908) rector of Porlock, who has been so good as to examine the Parish Register, I am able to say that the 'Reverend Dr. Adam Bellenden, Clarke,' was formally inducted into the rectory and parish church of Porlock on the 13 July, 1642. And on Sunday 17 July, 1642, he read and assented to the XXXIX. Articles. Certainly a new rector, Alexander Robinson, signs as rector of Porlock in 1648. During Bellenden's incumbency the parish, as I am informed by Mr. Bunting, was served by curates.

In the old 'Register of burials' at Porlock we find the entry—'Anno Domini 1647-8 Martii 4 Adam Bellenden, Dr. of Divinitie and Rector of Porlock was buryed.' We see then that it is an error to suppose that he was instituted under another name.

It is understood that Mr. F. C. Eeles is placing a brass to the memory of Bellenden in Porlock church. Could the word 'Clarke,' misunderstood, have given rise to the notion that he was instituted under another name?<sup>1</sup> His seal showed a shield, ensigned with a mitre, bearing arms: A staghead couped, between three cross crosslets fitchée (Macdonald, *Armorial Seals*). For Bellenden's marriage and family, see Lippe's introduction to the *Wodrow Selections* (N.S.C.), p. lxi.

6. **DAVID MITCHELL**, D.D. (Oxon.), prebendary of Westminster. Son of a farmer at Garvoe in the Mearns. According to Scott's *Fasti*, David Mitchell, M.A., was presented to the second or

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. Lippe seems to have misunderstood the note in Scott's *Fasti*, which says, not that Bellenden was instituted to Porlock under another name, but that he was granted a pension under another name.]

collegiate charge in St. Giles', Edinburgh, by the Town Council, 25 Jan. and admitted 9 April, 1628, with a stipend one thousand two hundred merks, and was translated to the first charge (the old church) in 1634.

During the visit of King Charles I. to Scotland, Mitchell used the surplice (Wodrow, N.S.C. 253).

Mitchell attempted to read the Service Book in the Tolbooth Kirk, Edinburgh, on Sunday (23 July), the Sunday of the riots at St. Giles', 1637 (*ib.* 173).

A process was raised against him in the Presbytery of Edinburgh for certain points of erroneous doctrine delivered by him in the pulpit, as was alleged, and the bishop of Edinburgh, David Lindsay, wrote on 9 Oct. 1638, intervening, in accordance with the statute of the General Assembly 9 June, 1610, and the Act of Parliament of 23 Oct. 1612 (*ib.* 177). He was deprived by the General Assembly 3 Dec. 1638 (*Peterkin's Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, 160), and afterwards went to England, where he is said to have been given a benefice (K.), see below; but eventually he had to fly to the continent. In Holland he supported himself by his skill as a watchmaker (Grub, iii. 198, and authorities cited by him).

On the Restoration the University of Oxford conferred on him the degree of D.D. 9 July, 1661 (K.), and he was appointed a prebendary of Westminster. Dr. Armitage Robinson, dean of Westminster, has been so good as to furnish me with the following dates from the Chapter Book of Westminster Abbey. David Mitchell, installed 25 July, 1660. Samuel Boulton, installed in the room of Mitchell, 'now Lord Bishop of Aberdeen,' 23 April, 1662. On 21 June, 1661, the Scottish Parliament allowed him £200 from vacant stipends as 'a great sufferer for the king' (A.P. vii. app. 78).

He was provided to the see of Aberdeen 18 Jan. 1662 (R.M.S. Paper Reg. vi. 248). The bishop of Aberdeen was present in Parliament 6 May, 1662 (A.P. vii. 368). Consecrated at St. Andrews, with Bishop Wiseheart, of Edinburgh, 3 June, 1662, by the primate (Sharp), the bishop of Dunkeld (Haliburton), and the bishop of Moray (Mackenzie) (Row's *Life of R. Blair*, 410). He held a diocesan synod 21 Oct. 1662, and following days. The minutes of this important synod are printed in *Selections from the Records of the Kirk-Session, Presbytery, and Synod of Aberdeen*, p. 262 ff. He died in February (the end of January has been also assigned as the time of his death), 1663, and was buried 10 Feb. 1663 in the south transept of his cathedral, beside Bishop Patrick Forbes (Grub, iii. 212).

In John Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, etc. (London, folio, 1714), the author is unable to discover what parish in England was held by Mitchell. He states that in the chancellor's letters to the University of Oxford, requesting for him the degree of D.D., it is said 'that from the beginning of the Troubles he had been a great sufferer for the cause of his Majesty and the Church' (p. 315).

7. **ALEXANDER BURNET.** Born in 1614. Son of John Burnet, minister of Lauder, of the ancient family of Barns in Tweeddale in Peeblesshire. His mother was of the family of Traquair. He was ordained in England during the troubles, and held a benefice in Kent (?). Being deprived (1650) he fled beyond seas. He conveyed letters to and from Charles II., and a price was laid upon his head by the parliamentary party. He was apprehended in London, but escaped by favour of the officer (Spalding Club, *Collections for a History of Aberdeen and Banff*, 168). Upon the Restoration he officiated as chaplain at Dunkirk (1661-2), where his father's first cousin, General Lord Rutherford, afterwards made earl of Teviot, was governor (K.).

He preached before Parliament 18 June, 1663 (*Life of Blair*, 444).

He was provided to Aberdeen 4 May, 1663 (R.S.S. Latin Reg. ii. 128).

Consecrated by the primate (Sharp) and others at St. Andrews 18 Sept. 1663 (*Life of Blair*, 452).

Translated to Glasgow 6 Jan. 1664 (R.M.S. Paper Reg. vi. No. 311). Installed 11 April, 1664. Writing from Whitehall, 4 Feb. 1664, Lauderdale refers to Burnet as 'my lord of Glasgow' (Lauderdale correspondence in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, i. 255).

After the murder of Archbishop Sharp he was advanced to St. Andrews 13 Aug. (R.M.S. Paper Reg. x. 125); installed 28 Oct. 1679.

Burnet died 22 Aug. 1684 (*Chronological Notes chiefly from Fountainhall's Diary*, p. 99). According to Keith, his death was on 24 Aug. 1684. By what seems a curious error in another part of the *Chronological Notes* above referred to (p. 42), the date of Burnet's death is given as 22 Oct. 1684. He was buried 2 Sept. in the church of St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews.

Many of Burnet's letters are printed in O. Airy's *Lauderdale Papers* (Camden Society). His surrender of Glasgow, and his restoration, cannot be dealt with here.

8. **PATRICK SCOGAL**, parson of Salton in East Lothian. Son of John Scougal of that ilk in East Lothian. Graduated at Edinburgh, 1624 (D.N.B.). Presented to Dairsie parish (1636); to Leuchars (1644); to Salton (1658), where Gilbert Burnet (afterwards bishop of Salisbury) succeeded him on his removal to Aberdeen.

Provided to Aberdeen 14 Jan. 1664 (R.M.S. Paper Reg. vi. No. 315). Consecrated, together with Honeyman (for Orkney), on Easter Monday (11 April), 1664, at St. Andrews, by the primate (Sharp), Burnet and — (see a letter of Sharp printed in O. Airy's *Lauderdale Papers*, i. 198); but the inscription on the monument at Aberdeen gives 'die Paschatis (Aprilis 10).' I think the monument is in error.

The minutes of a diocesan synod which he held within the College Kirk of Old Aberdeen, 18 Oct. 1664, and three following days, will be found in *Selections from the Ecclesiastical Records of Aberdeen* (Spalding Club), 274 ff.

He died 16 Feb. 1682, in the eighteenth year of his episcopate and the seventy-fifth of his age (Epitaph as printed in Monteith's *Theater of Mortality*), and was buried in his cathedral, where his son, James Scougal, commissary of the diocese of Aberdeen, erected the monument quoted from above. His benefactions to St. Machor's Cathedral, the library of King's College, and the public hospital of Old Aberdeen, are referred to in the epitaph.

The bishop is perhaps best known as the father of Henry Scougal, professor of divinity in King's College, Aberdeen, who published anonymously, in 1677, the well-known work, *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*, and died in 1678. Another son [the above-named commissary] was raised to be a Scottish judge, under the title of Lord Whitehill. One daughter, Catherine, was married to Bishop Scrogie of Argyll [and afterwards to Bishop Patrick Forbes of Caithness], and another, Jane, was wife of Patrick Sibbald, one of the ministers of Aberdeen (Professor Cooper in D.N.B.).

9. **GEORGE HALIBURTON** (Hallyburton), bishop of Brechin. Son of Dr. George Haliburton<sup>1</sup> and his wife Elizabeth or Elspeth, one of the three daughters of Archbishop Gladstanes (Rowand's MS. notes on Keith's *Bishops*); M.A. St. Andrews, 1646; D.D. 1673 (D.N.B.). Minister of Cupar in Angus, 1648. Provided to Brechin 16 May, 1678; styled George Hallyburton, doctor of theology and minister of

<sup>1</sup>[According to Scott's *Fasti*, of William Haliburton, minister of Collace].

Cupar in Angus (R.M.S. Paper Reg. x. No. 67). Consecrated at St. Andrews 13 June, 1678. Translated to Aberdeen 5 July, 1682 (R.M.S. Paper Reg. x. 272).

Deposed at the Revolution from the temporality of the see; but he continued to act in his episcopal office, and to ordain clergy for Aberdeen (Grub, iii. 312); and conducted episcopal services at Newtyle up to 1710 (D.N.B.). In his old age Haliburton was not consulted by Bishop Rose and the other bishops, and was not even privy to the consecration of Sage and Fullarton in 1705 or of Chrystie and Falconar in 1709. The desire of Rose was that these consecrations should be regarded as strict secrets, and 'the weakness (for talking) that attended that Bishop (Haliburton), at least in his old age,' was too well known (Rattray, see Gordon's *Scotichronicon*, ii. 106). 'Died at his house of Denhead, in the parish of Cupar in Angus, 29 Sept. 1715, aged 77 years' (K.).

The barony of Pitcur, in the parish of Kettins, Forfarshire, is said to have been acquired by the Hallyburtons in 1432.

David Haliburton, of Pitcur, was married to Agnes Campbell, 'at present lady dowager of Pitcur, and spouse to George Haliburton, lord bishop of Aberdeen, her second husband.' To her first husband 'she bare two sons, James who died *sans* issue, and David the late laird of Pitcur, married to —— Wedderburne, daughter to Sir Peter Wedderburne of Gosfoord, Lord of Session. He died honourably with John, viscount of Dundee, at the battle of Gillie Chrankie 27 July, 1689.' This lady by her first husband had a daughter Margaret, 'who is at present married to Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, the king's advocate' (Macfarlane, *Genealogical Collections*, i. 14).

The bishop had an only daughter, Margaret, who was married to John Lindesay of Wormistoun, 'now commissary of St. Andrews' (*ib.*).<sup>1</sup>

As has been seen, Haliburton, disregarding his deposition, continued to ordain clergy for Aberdeen. When the dioceses were deprived of their bishops, Bishop Rose of Edinburgh exercised, as vicar-general, a general superintendence over the dioceses, assisted by various bishops, consecrated to maintain the succession, but not having particular dioceses assigned to them. Rose died 20 March, 1720.

<sup>1</sup>[The bishop had also three sons (Scott's *Fasti*).]

## ii. Bishops after the Disestablishment of the Episcopal Church in 1689

10. **ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL**, D.D., commonly called the Honourable Archibald Campbell, son of Lord Neil Campbell by Lady Vere Ker, daughter of William, third earl of Lothian, and grandson of Archibald, first Marquis of Argyll, who was beheaded for treason at the market cross of Edinburgh 27 May, 1661.

For the earlier history of Bishop Campbell, see D.N.B., and Grub, iii. 356. To these may be added that it seems to have been pleaded that he had not willingly engaged in the Monmouth rising in which his father was implicated: see *Chronological Notes chiefly from the Diary of Lord Fountainhall*, 24 June, 1685. How long he was in Surinam does not appear.

He was consecrated (but not for any particular see) at Dundee by Bishops Rose (of Edinburgh), Robert Douglas (of Dunblane), and John Falconar on 24 Aug. (St. Bartholomew's Day), 1711. This date appears in the attested copy of his deed of consecration in the Episcopal Chest. According to Skinner (*Eccl. Hist.* ii. 608), Campbell took an active part in the correspondence of the nonjuring bishops with the bishops of the Orthodox church of the east: see the author's article in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, i. 562-8, and George Williams' *The Orthodox Church of the East in the Eighteenth Century*.

On 10 May, 1721, seventeen presbyters of Aberdeen (with two proxies) met at the rooms of Mr. P. Dunbreck, and elected Campbell 'to take temporary inspection of them' (MS. letter of Dunbreck to Campbell 4 Aug. 1721). Campbell, who resided chiefly in London, had not accepted the offer of the Aberdeen presbyters as late as 22 April, 1722. He gave a commission to Bishop James Gadderar on 24 Jan. 1722-3, to perform episcopal offices for him. Campbell resigned on 3 April, 1725 (MSS. in Episcopal Chest).<sup>1</sup>

The phrase 'to take temporary inspection of them' as used above was probably to avoid infringing on what was regarded as the prerogative of the exiled king, namely the nomination of the bishops.

<sup>1</sup> A MS. of Bishop Robert Forbes, copied by Bishop Jolly, and now in my possession, gives the same dates for Campbell's election, 'substitution' (of Gadderar), and resignation.

Campbell, like his friend and successor Gadderar, was a strong advocate of the 'usages.'

Campbell died 16 June, 1744 (according to John Skinner's *Annals*, p. 534).

There is preserved in the Episcopal Chest, Edinburgh, a certificate of the marriage of Archibald Campbell, bachelor, to Mrs. Anne Tempest, widow, 16 Jan. 1713. The officiants were (Bishop) George Hickes, D.D., and (Bishop) James Gadderar.

He was a book collector, and according to Dr. Samuel Johnson (Boswell's *Life*, iii. 254) had 'a complete collection' of books printed before the union of the kingdoms. Many of these books are now in the library of the advocates in Edinburgh according to Boswell (*ib.*).

For further information as to Campbell in England, see Russel's *Keith*, 530-1. For the consecration by Campbell alone of Roger Lawrence, see Overton (p. 351). For an account of his works on *The Middle or Intermediate State*, London, 1713, 8vo (anonymous), which was greatly enlarged, and published with author's name in folio, London, 1721, see Lathbury's *History of the Non-jurors*, 297-302. This work is still valued. Canon Overton has lately said of this book, 'Campbell's tone, style, and method are all admirable, and there is a calmness and modesty about his work which make it very attractive' (*The Nonjurors*, 1902, p. 403).

A list of works attributed to Campbell (some ten or eleven in number) will be found in J. P. Lawson's *History of the Scottish Episcopal Church from the Revolution*, p. 236. But the reader is now warned that the majority of these books are really the work of his namesake, Archibald Campbell, professor at St. Andrews. Besides the *Middle State*, the only writings which seem to be rightly attributed to the bishop are 'Queries to the Presbyterians of Scotland' (1702), and 'A Query turned into an argument for Episcopacy' (1703).

I am not aware that Campbell ever set foot in the diocese of Aberdeen between the date of his election and that of his resignation.

From a letter of Lockhart of Carnwath to the exiled king, dated 20 April, 1720, we learn that he had heard 'that Mr. Archibald Campbell (who, tho' adorn'd with none of the qualifications requisite in a bishop, and remarkable for some things inconsistent with the character of a gentleman, was most imprudently consecrated some years ago) is coming here from London, with a view of forming a party and propagating those doctrines which were at least unseasonably broached some few years agoe in England' (*The Lockhart Papers*,

ii. 37). Lockhart was much annoyed by the introduction of the 'usage' controversy. It would seem that the College of Bishops never absolutely confirmed Campbell's election (*ib.* ii. 101); and that, therefore, it may be questioned whether in strictness he should be reckoned among the bishops of Aberdeen.

Samuel Johnson talked of Campbell 'with great regard' (Boswell, viii. 287), and in the not very accurate little account of him which he wrote for Boswell (v. 101) describes him as 'a man of letters, but injudicious.'

### 11. JAMES GADDERAR (Gadderer, Gedderer, Gatherer).

Before the Revolution minister of Kilmaurs in Ayrshire, where he was 'rabbled'; parson of Kilmalcolm.

He had a brother, Alexander, who was at one time minister of Girvan, and was rabbled in 1689. He retired to his native parish of Urquhart, where he 'followed farm pursuits for a livelihood.' He died in 1714, aged seventy-one. A monument was raised at Urquhart to his memory by Bishop Gadderar (Craven, 319).

James Gadderar was consecrated in London on the feast of St. Matthias (24 Feb.), 1712, by Bishop Hickes (formerly dean of Worcester), Bishop Falconar (who went up to London expressly for the purpose), and Bishop Campbell (attested copy of the Deed of Consecration in Episcopal Chest). Without a see, employed by Campbell to act for him in the diocese of Aberdeen (see last entry). It would seem that he intended visiting Gordon Castle in 1723, and speaks of crossing the Spey 'into my native country to see my poor relations, and give them my advice and blessing, for that is the only way in which I can be useful to them.' With something of indifference to ecclesiastical propriety, he hints that 'if my assistance be wanted (? for confirmations and ordinations) my country folks shall be welcome to it, though the Colleges of Edinburgh should be displeased' (letter in Episcopal Chest cited by Craven, *Church in Moray*, 101). In fact he certainly confirmed Lady Anne, third daughter of the Duchess of Gordon (Craven, 109).

He was duly elected to Aberdeen in 1725 (MS. in Episcopal Chest). In the same year certain of the Moray clergy, nine in number, petitioned him 'to supply their want of an ordinary' 17 June, 1725 (deed in Episcopal Chest cited by Craven, *Church in Moray*, 104).

He sided with the party among the bishops opposed to the 'college' system and in favour of the 'usages,' and took part in the consecration of Rattray at Edinburgh on 4 June, 1727; and of

Dunbar and Keith at Edinburgh, 18 June, 1727. By the *concordate* between the two parties (13 May, 1732) the diocese of Aberdeen was formally assigned to him.

Gadderar visited Moray and apparently exercised episcopal functions in the summer of 1726. He was at Fochabers on his way home to Aberdeen on 4 Aug. 1726 (see letter cited by Craven, p. 105, and also p. 107).

Gadderar died 23 Jan. 1732-3 (note in the handwriting of Bishop Campbell on a letter of Gadderar, dated 4 Jan. 1732-3, in the Episcopal Chest). He was buried in the grave of Bishop Scougal in the cathedral of Aberdeen (Grub, iv. 8).

Gadderar published 'The right of succession to the Kingdom of England in two books against the sophisms of Parsons the Jesuite,' translated from the Latin of Sir Thomas Craig, of Riccarton, 'by Mr. J. G.,' London, folio, 1703.

12. **WILLIAM DUNBAR**, M.A., bishop, having inspection of Moray and Ross.

Before the Revolution minister of Cruden.

Consecrated by one section of the bishops, viz. Gadderar, Miller, and Rattray, at Edinburgh 18 June, 1727. But the 'college bishops' declared his election to Moray and Ross null, and his consecration irregular and uncanonical, and Dunbar to be no bishop of the Scottish Church.

The mandate for an election to Aberdeen was apparently being sent for the signature of the bishops early in May (see a letter of Bishop Ouchterlonie to Bishop Rattray, dated 4 May, 1733, which letter I purchased and gave to the library of the Theological College, Edinburgh, 1904).

On 5 June, 1733, the presbyters of Aberdeen met at Old Meldrum, and elected Bishop Dunbar. He accepted the office, but did not resign Moray and Ross for some two years (Grub, iv. 9). On 25 May, 1734, Bishop Rattray, writing to Bishop Keith, says, 'Bishop Dunbar is very desirous to be free of the burden of Moray; but, though it be a hardship, yet of necessity, he must bear it for some little time' (Craven, 237).

Dunbar, then in his eighty-fifth year, resigned 4 July, 1745 (Grub, iv. 46), and the see was void till 17 July, 1747.

Dunbar died early in 1746, according to Skinner (ii. 670), and so too Grub (iv. 46). The minute book of the College of Bishops, however, is express in placing the death of Dunbar in Dec. 1745. The minute is that of the Episcopal Synod of 17 July, 1747, at

Cupar in Fife (folio 17), where we find—‘The Reverend Mr. Andrew Gerard, presbyter of Aberdeen, was consecrated bishop of Aberdeen, vacant since the death of the pious and learned Bishop Dunbar,<sup>1</sup> Dec. 1745, upon the unanimous election of the presbyters of that district’: see next entry.

Dunbar seems to have resided at Peterhead.

13. **ANDREW GERARD**, presbyter in Aberdeen.

He was, while a deacon, chaplain in the house of ‘young Balgowan,’ and afterwards in the house of Lord Nairne in the time of Bishop Rose of Edinburgh († 20 March, 1720): see Russel’s *Keith*, 533. He seems to have had to leave Lord Nairne’s because his lordship did not approve of the introduction of the ‘usages’ (see Lawson’s *History*, 527).

Unanimously elected bishop of Aberdeen (Reg. Coll. Bps.). I have not found the date of the election of Gerard. Consecrated at Cupar in Fife on 17 July, 1747, by Bishops White, Falconar, Raitt, and Alexander (*ib.*). Gerard died 7 Oct. 1767 (Reg. Coll. Bps.).

14. **ROBERT KILGOUR**, presbyter at Peterhead, where after his being consecrated bishop he continued to reside.

On 5 May, 1768, the presbyters of Aberdeen met to elect a successor to Bishop Gerard, having applied for by their dean, William Smith, and received a mandate from the Primus (Bishop William Falconar). They elected Bishop Robert Forbes, who accepted the office; but the other bishops refused to confirm the election for the following reasons: (1) The important charge of the diocese of Aberdeen required a bishop who might reside amongst them (Forbes resided at Leith, where he was minister to the Episcopal congregation); (2) the age and infirmity of several of their own (*i.e.* the bishops’) number made it necessary to have a new member chosen to be added to their college for the better securing of the Episcopal succession; and (3) finding that, by some irregular steps that had been taken, the former meeting of presbyters was not full, the Primus was desired to write to the dean of Aberdeen to call a full meeting of the clergy of the diocese, and proceed to a new election. The second meeting was held 16 Aug. 1768, and Kilgour was elected ‘by a fair majority’ (Reg. Coll. Bps.); and the election was confirmed.

Kilgour was consecrated at Cupar in Fife on St. Matthew’s Day (21 Sept.), 1768, by Bishops W. Falconar (Primus), Raitt, and Alexander.

<sup>1</sup> A blank space left here as if for the day of the month to be afterwards filled in.

On 25 Sept. 1782 Kilgour was chosen Primus, in the room of Falconar, who had resigned. On the same day John Skinner (see next entry), who had been duly elected by the clergy of Aberdeen as coadjutor and successor of Kilgour, was consecrated in the chapel of Rev. Alexander Jamieson at Luthermuir (near Laurencekirk) by Bishops Kilgour, Arthur Rose, and Petrie (Reg. Coll. Bps.).

On Sunday, 14 Nov. 1784, Dr. Samuel Seabury was consecrated, for Connecticut, in Bishop Skinner's chapel at Aberdeen, by Kilgour (Primus), Petrie (of Moray), and Skinner (coadjutor of Aberdeen).

In October, 1786, Kilgour resigned to Skinner the superintendence of the whole diocese, excepting Peterhead, which was 'Bishop Kilgour's *portio gregis*.'

Kilgour died on 22 March, 1790, 'in the seventy-sixth year of his age and the fifty-third of his ministry' (*Scots Magazine*, 1790, p. 205, and Skinner's *Annals*, 536).

15. **JOHN SKINNER**, coadjutor bishop (see last entry). Succeeded by the resignation of Kilgour in Oct. 1786 (John Skinner's *Annals*, 536); elected Primus in Dec. 1788.

Second son of Rev. John Skinner, the well-known writer of Scottish verse. Born 17 May, 1744; studied at Marischal College, Aberdeen, which he entered in 1757. Ordained 1763 by Bishop Gerard, and placed in charge of the congregations of Chapelhall and Bernie (parish of Ellon), and not long after removed to the city of Aberdeen.

Largely by reason of the persistent energy and wise management of Skinner, the bill for the repeal of the penal laws was carried through Parliament. It received the royal assent 15 June, 1792.

John Skinner died on Saturday, 13 July, 1816, in the seventy-third year of his age. His body was buried in the Spital Churchyard of Old Aberdeen on the following Friday, 19 July (Memoir, prefixed to the *Annals* by his son, John Skinner of Forfar, pp. 26, 14). A statue of John Skinner by Flaxman is erected in the porch of St. Andrew's, Aberdeen.<sup>1</sup>

16. **WILLIAM SKINNER**, D.D., Oxon., presbyter, colleague of his father, the preceding bishop, in the incumbency of St. Andrew's, Aberdeen.

<sup>1</sup> *The Life and Times of John Skinner, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Primus, etc.*, by Rev. William Walker, M.A., LL.D. (afterwards dean of Aberdeen), 8vo, Aberdeen, 1887, contains much valuable information, and supplies many particulars as to this eminent man, which it is not necessary to repeat here.

On 20 Aug. 1816 a mandate was issued for an election. The clergy of the diocese met at Ellon on 11 Sept. 1816, and chose William Skinner, second son of the late bishop. He had been educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen, and Wadham College, Oxford, and ordained deacon (March, 1802), by the bishop of Rochester (Samuel Horsley), and priest the following year by the same prelate, then translated to St. Asaph (John Skinner's *Annals of Scottish Episcopacy*, pp. 36, 37).

Consecrated at Stirling (near the residence of Bishop Gleig, Primus), on Sunday, 27 Oct. 1816, by the bishop of Brechin (George Gleig), who had been appointed Primus (20 Aug. 1816), and Bishops Sandford (Edinburgh), Jolly (Moray), and Torry (Dunkeld) (Reg. Coll. Bps. i. 94).

Elected Primus (in succession to Bishop Walker, of Edinburgh), 2 June, 1841 (*ib. ii. 112*).

Died, 15 April, 1857, in the seventy-ninth year of his age and the forty-first of his episcopate. He was buried (22 April) in St. Peter's Cemetery, Aberdeen.

17. **THOMAS GEORGE SPINK SUTHER**, D.C.L. (Windsor College, Nova Scotia), incumbent of St. Andrew's, Aberdeen.<sup>1</sup>

Born 1814. Son of Dr. Peter Suther, surgeon R.N. and deputy-inspector of hospitals and fleets (who served at Trafalgar). Educated at King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia (B.A. 1836; D.C.L. 1852).

Ordained deacon 1837 (3 Mar.), priest also 1837 (21 Dec.), by the bishop of Edinburgh (Walker); curate of St. George's, Edinburgh, and afterwards of St. James', Leith; incumbent of St. George's, Edinburgh, 1841-55; of St. Andrew's, Aberdeen, 1855-79.

In 1852 Dr. Suther was nominated for the see of St. Andrews, but Dr. Wordsworth was elected bishop by a majority of one. The circumstances are fully related in Bishop Wordsworth's *Annals of my Life*, ii. 124 ff.

A mandate for an election, dated 5 May, 1857, was issued by Bishop Terrot (Edinburgh) as senior bishop, the office of Primus being vacant through the death of W. Skinner. The presbyters assembled in St. Matthew's Church, Meldrum, on Thursday, 28 May, 1857. After Morning Prayer and the celebration of the Holy Communion, the synod was constituted under the presidency of the dean

<sup>1</sup> [The three paragraphs which follow were left blank by the author, and are supplied from information kindly obtained for the editor by Miss Dowden and Canon Mitchell.]

(James Smith, of Forgue). Two presbyters were nominated, Dr. Suther and Rev. Patrick Cheyne, M.A., incumbent of St. John's, Aberdeen. A vote being taken, thirteen votes were recorded for Dr. Suther, and nine for Mr. Cheyne, whereupon the dean declared Dr. Suther duly elected (*Scottish Eccl. Journal*, vii. 94-6).

Consecrated on St. John Baptist's Day (24 June), 1857, in St. Paul's Church, Edinburgh, by the bishop of Edinburgh (Terrot), the bishop of Argyll (Ewing), and the bishop of St. Andrews (Wordsworth): Reg. Coll. Bps. ii. 330 (see, for an account of the service, *The Scottish Eccl. Journal*, vii. 113).

Died at San Remo 23 Jan. 1883.

18. **ARTHUR GASCOIGNE DOUGLAS**, D.D., Durham (1883), vicar of Shapwick.

The Hon. A. G. Douglas, born 5 Jan. 1827, fifth son of George Sholto Douglas, nineteenth earl of Morton; B.A. (Univ. Coll. Durham), 1849; L.Th. and M.A. 1850; Hon. D.D. 1883; Hon. D.C.L. University of the South, U.S.A., 1884. Made deacon, 1850, by bishop of Durham; priest, 1852, by bishop of Worcester. Curate of Kidderminster, 1850-2; rector of St. Olave, Southwark, 1855-6; rector of Scaldwell, Northants, 1856-72; vicar of Shapwick, 1872-83 (Burke's *Peerage*, and Crockford).

Two presbyters were nominated, Hon. and Rev. A. G. Douglas and John Dowden, D.D., Pantonian professor and principal of the Theological College, Edinburgh (afterwards bishop of Edinburgh). Mr. Douglas received twenty-one clerical and sixteen lay votes; Dr. Dowden, thirteen clerical and nine lay votes.

Consecrated 1 May, 1883, at St. Andrew's, Aberdeen, by the bishop of Moray, Primus (Eden), and the bishops of Edinburgh (Cotterill), Glasgow (Wilson), St. Andrews (Wordsworth), and Tasmania (Sandford) (MS. Regist. of the College of Bishops, iv. 154-61).

In the second week of Oct. 1884, Bishop Douglas presided at the centenary celebration of the consecration of Bishop Seabury at Aberdeen. Eighteen bishops were present and over two hundred other clergy.

Bishop Douglas was engaged in visiting the churches of his diocese of Orkney (united to Aberdeen) when he was seized with serious illness. He died in his seventy-ninth year at Stromness, in the mainland of Orkney, on 19 July, 1905. His remains, after being conveyed first to Aberdeen, were laid to rest among those of other members of the noble house of Morton, on the south side of St. Mary's Church,

Dalmahoy, in Midlothian, within the grounds of the residence of the earl of Morton, on 25 July, 1905.

19. **ROWLAND ELLIS**, rector of St. Paul's, York Place, Edinburgh; synod clerk of Edinburgh, and canon of St. Mary's Cathedral. B.A. (Jesus College) Oxford, 1863; M.A. 1868; D.D. 1906. Deacon (1864), priest (1865), by the bishop of St. Asaph. Curate of Gresford, 1864-8; vicar of Gwersyllt, 1868-72; Mold, 1872-84; rural dean of Mold, 1873-84; rector, St. Paul's, York Place, Edinburgh, 1884-1906; synod clerk of Edinburgh, and canon of Edinburgh, 1899-1906.

Born 24 April, 1841, at Caerwys, Flintshire; son of T. Ellis, surgeon (Crockford, and *Who's Who*).

After two previous meetings of the clergy and lay electors of the diocese, both of which had been ineffective, a third meeting was held on 17 Jan. 1906. At the later stages of the proceedings the only name before the meeting was that of Canon Ellis, who was elected unanimously.

Consecrated bishop, Wednesday, 25 April (St. Mark's Day), 1906, at St. Andrew's Church, Aberdeen, by the bishop of St. Andrews (Primus), and the bishops of Edinburgh, Brechin, Glasgow, Moray, Bangor, Bishop Harrison (formerly of Glasgow), and Bishop Richardson (formerly of Zanzibar).

MULTOS ANNOS!

# The Bishops of Moray

## BISHOPS SINCE THE CLOSE OF THE SUCCESSION OF THE ANCIENT HIERARCHY

### i. Bishops before 1689

1. *GEORGE DOUGLAS*, bastard son of Archibald, sixth earl of Angus. He was legitimated under the Great Seal, 14 March, 1542-3 (R.M.S. iii. No. 2878).

After the assassination of Cardinal Beaton, the abbey of Arbroath was conferred on George Douglas by the governor. Hence he was known as the 'Postulate of Arbroath.' When Knox wrote his history, George Douglas was still called 'Postulate' (Knox's *Works*, Laing's edit. i. 180). The appointment does not appear to have been confirmed at Rome. Lesley's account, *sub anno* 1546, is as follows: 'Gubernator . . . Arbrothi abbatiam, Jacobo Betono Cardinalis cognato antea concessam, Georgio Douglasio filio Comitis Angusii naturali donavit' (*De Reb. Gest. Scot.* edit. 1578, p. 483). He appears 2 May, 1572, as commendator of Arbroath (R.M.S. iv. No. 2052).

Keith refers to the Register of Presentations to Benefices, etc. (the MS. is in H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh), in which we find (1) 'License to cheis a bishop to the cathedral Kirk of Murray.' The licence is addressed to 'the deane and chapter' . . . 'makand mention of the Deceise of umql Patrick, sumtyme Bishop thairoff,' and is dated 12 Aug. 1573 (see R.S.S. xli. 97).

In the General Assembly which convened 6 Aug. 1573, part of the business [in its sixth session] was 'to appoint a day for the election of the Bishop of Murray' (Calderwood, iii. 297; B.U.K. 280). (2) The election began on Sunday, 20 Dec. 1573, and continued for three days, the members of the chapter 'hearing his doctrine and trying his conversation' (Calderwood, iii. 330-1). The process of election was called in question in the General Assembly convened in

Edinburgh, 7 Aug. 1574, but eventually (in 1575) it was accepted as valid (*ib.* 340).

(3) On 5 Feb. 1573 (1573-4) 'our Sovereign Lord with advice, etc., ordains ane Letter to be made under the Great Seal, directed to the Archbishops of Sanct Androis and Glasgow, the Bishops of Dunkeld and Caithness, and to the Superintendents over the Kirks within the bounds of Angus and diocy of Dunblane or any twa of them'... 'at the humble petition of the deane and chapter' [directing them to consecrate Douglas as bishop], 'according to the usual forme past in such cases of before' (Register of Presentations, and R.S.S. xlii. 12). Presumably effect was given to this letter<sup>1</sup> before the temporality was granted. But D. Laing (*Knox's Works*, i. 181 note) seems to be incorrect in making the date of the consecration 5 Feb. 1573-4.

The temporality was granted 23 March, 1573-4 (Register of Presentations, and R.S.S. xlii. 16).

In the General Assembly (6 March, 1573-4) 'George Bishop of Murray was delated for fornicatioun committed with the Lady Ardrosse, and ordeaned to purge himself before the Assemblie' (Calderwood, iii. 304). (The woman is described as 'one Scot, relict of \_\_\_\_ Dishington of Ardross': B.U.K. 288).<sup>2</sup> He seems to have been eventually successful in purging himself (see B.U.K. 295, 301, 308, 315, 323, 326, 333.)

He was under process of horning, April, 1576 (*ib.* 349); but for what does not appear.

He died 28 Dec. 1589, as appears from a gift of his escheat to the earl of Morton 29 Dec. 1589 (R.S.S. lx. fol. 103).

*The temporalities of the see diverted by James VI.* While James VI. was on his matrimonial expedition to Denmark (1589-90) he gave a written undertaking to his favourite, Sir Alexander ('Sandie') Lindsay, fourth son of David, tenth earl of Crawford, that on his return to Scotland—'I sall irrevocablie and with consent of Parliament erect you the temporalitie of Murraye in a temporall lordshipp' (Douglas, *Peerage*, ed. Wood, ii. 517). In fulfilment of his promise, at once after his return, he granted to Lindsay (6 May, 1590) the lands belonging to the see of Moray. Another charter, 17 April, 1593, [confirmed the previous gift in more precise terms].

<sup>1</sup> From the ecclesiastical standpoint it may be remarked that none of the consecrators had, apparently, been canonically consecrated.

<sup>2</sup> [Agnes, daughter of Thomas Scott of Pitgorno, relict of Thomas Dishington of Ardross.]

In 1606 the lands were restored to the king in return for a sum of money : see under Alexander Douglas.

2. **ALEXANDER DOUGLAS**, minister of Elgin.<sup>1</sup> Appointed to the bishopric of Moray 30 Nov. 1602 (R.S.S. lxxiii. 133). Appointed commendator of the priory of Bewlie 1 Feb. 1606 (*ib.* lxxiv. 453). In the same year appointed by the General Assembly constant moderator of the Presbytery of Elgin (B.U.K. 1036), whose members were charged by the Privy Council (17 Jan. 1607) to receive him as such within twenty-four hours under pain of rebellion (P.C.R. vii. 301).

He was on the Articles 1607, 1609 ; in Parliament 1612, 1617 ; commissioner for holding Parliament 1621 (A.P. vol. iv.).

Consecrated Friday, 15 March, 1611, at Edinburgh, by the archbishop of St. Andrews (George Gladstones) : see letter of the archbishop to James VI., dated Edinburgh, 16 March, 1611.<sup>2</sup>

As late as 1613 James VI. writes to the Scots Privy Council that he had given 'contentment and satisfacioun to the late Lord of Spynie out of our awin cofferis for the surrender of the landis and kirkis quhilkis he held of the Bishoprik of Murray. And he made Us to believe that he rested contented, and that he wes to exact no furder from these quhorne we wer to prefer to that benefice.' Nevertheless Lord Spynie, concealing what the king had done, made the present bishop of Moray to give him a band for payment of a sum of ten thousand merks. Part of this was already paid, and on the death of the first Lord Spynie, the young lord's uncle and tutor sued the bishop for the remainder. The king says that both he and the bishop were circumvented : *Original Letters* (Bannatyne Club), i. 306-8. The bishop had complained of his being on the verge of utter ruin (*ib.* 304). The king's directions to the Privy Council are given in the letter above cited.

Alexander Douglas died 11 May, 1623, in the sixty-second year of his age, 'relictis Alexandro et Maria liberis, uxoreque gravida'

<sup>1</sup> He had been translated from Keith to Elgin ; admitted in 1581 (*Scott's Fasti*).

<sup>2</sup> 'This Frydaye the fyftein of this instant the Consecratioun of the Bischop of Murraye wes solemnized verie honorablie and countenanced be the said Lord President and many vther Lordis of Secrett Consell, quhom he drew thither for authorizing that solemnnitie. Befoir this ordour came it wes odious ; bot in the vsage thairof all the heareris thoght it tollerabill,' etc. : *Original Letters* (Bannatyne Club), i. 265.

(inscription on tombstone, printed by Craven, 46); buried in St. Giles' Church, Elgin. Scott (*Fasti*, v. 150) gives 9 May, 1623, as the day of his death.

According to Douglas (*Baronage*, 17), Alex. Douglas, bishop of Moray, was married to the third daughter<sup>1</sup> of Robert Innes of that ilk by Elizabeth, daughter of Robert, third Lord Elphinston.

3. **JOHN GUTHRIE**, M.A. (of St. Andrews, 1597), one of the ministers of St. Giles' Church, Edinburgh.<sup>2</sup>

[The *congé d'éluire* is dated] 28 June, 1623 (R.S.S. xciii. 371). His election by the dean and chapter was in Aug. 1623, [and his appointment by the king 16 Aug. 1623 (R.S.S. xcv. 45)]. Hew Scott says he was consecrated between 26 Aug. and 13 Oct. 1623 (*Fasti*). Yet Calderwood (vii. 580), when describing the thanksgiving at St. Giles' on 13 Oct. 1623, for the safe return of Prince Charles from Spain, says the ministers of Edinburgh appointed 'Mr. John Guthrie' to preach the sermon. This, at least *prima facie*, looks as though he were not yet bishop. [Calderwood, however, speaks of him as then lately consecrated bishop of Moray.]

He had a brother William and a son John (R.M.S. viii. No. 840). [For further information about his family, see Scott's *Fasti*.]

Guthrie with the archbishop of St. Andrews (Spottiswoode) and the bishop of the Isles (John Lesly) go up to court in 1631 (Craven, 51).

In 1633, on the occasion of the visit of Charles I. to Edinburgh, the bishop of Moray appears on 15 June, 1633, in the procession from the West Port to Holyroodhouse. On 18 June, at the coronation of the king, he supported the king on the left when he made his oblation; and afterwards, with the bishop of Ross, 'sang and read the Letanie.' He was appointed 'Great Almoner for this

<sup>1</sup> [Her name was Mary (R.M.S. vii. No. 1770).]

<sup>2</sup> [He became reader at Arbroath 1597, minister of Kinnell 1599, of Arbirlot 1603, and of Perth (second charge) in 1617 (Scott's *Fasti*).] He was elected to St. Giles', 26 March, 1620, but declined to leave Perth. The council of the city again dealt with him 9 May, 1621, and prevailed. He was admitted 15 June, 1621. (See Dr. J. Cameron Lee's *St. Giles', Edinburgh*, 280, where reference to the authorities will be found.) It may be added that his reluctance to leave Perth was so great that the archbishop of St. Andrews, after 'dealing earnestly' with him in vain, besought the king to intervene with a view to his coming to Edinburgh, 9 Jan. 1621 (*Original Letters*, ii. 643).

day.' On 19 June, at the riding of the Parliament, he also took part (Sir James Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 354-94). He preached before the king, arrayed in his rochet, on the following Sunday (25 June) in St. Giles' Church (the cathedral), Edinburgh (Spalding, *History of the Troubles*, i. 24, 26).

In 1637, 3 Oct., in the synod of Moray, Guthrie desired the ministers to buy and use the Service Book as the king had commanded (Spalding, i. 48).

On 11 Dec. 1638, by the illegal General Assembly at Glasgow, 'Mr. John Guthrie, pretendit Bishop of Murray,' was deposed, and sentenced to excommunication 'if he continue obstinate' (Peterkin's *Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, 171-2). Excommunication was subsequently pronounced upon Guthrie by Mr. Henry Rollock in St. Giles', Edinburgh (Gordon, *Scots Affairs*, ii. 138-40), prior to 11 July, 1639.

Guthrie continued to hold Spynie Castle till 16 July, 1640, when he surrendered to Col. Monroe, accompanied by 300 musketeers and pieces of ordnance (Spalding, *Hist. of Troubles*, i. 239). In Sept. Monroe carried him to Edinburgh as a prisoner. He was confined in the Tolbooth prison for fourteen months, and released only on condition that he would not return to his diocese.

He died 23 Aug. 1649, in the seventy-second year of his age, at his house, the castle of Guthrie, in Forfarshire, and was buried in the aisle of the old church (Craven, *History of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Moray*, 1889, p. 56).

#### 4. MURDO (MURDOCH) MACKENZIE, minister of Elgin.

He graduated at Aberdeen (Marischal College), 1618 (*Records of Marischal College*, ii. 194), and was ordained by Maxwell, bishop of Ross, in 1633 (Scott says 1634). He was chaplain to a Scotch regiment in the service of Gustavus Adolphus. Minister of Contin, in Ross-shire, before 1638. Translated to Inverness 1640. Translated to Elgin 1645 (Scott's *Fasti*).

The Letters Patent providing him to the see of Moray are dated 18 Jan. 1661 (1661-2) (R.M.S. Paper Reg. vi. 247). There is no mention of an election. He was consecrated (with five other bishops elect) in the Abbey Church at Holyrood 7 May, 1662, by the archbishop of St. Andrews (Sharp), the archbishop of Glasgow (Fairfoul), and the bishop of Galloway (Hamilton) (*Life of Robert Blair*, Wodrow Society, 406-7).

Translated to Orkney in 1676. Date of the *congé d'élire* 12 Aug. 1676 (R.M.S. Paper Reg. x. 2). Election (unanimous) by dean

and chapter (eight members present) of Orkney 26 Sept. 1676. Provision 13 Feb. 1677 (R.M.S. Paper Reg. x. 2).<sup>1</sup>

5. **JAMES AITKIN** (Aiken, Aickine, Aickines, Etkin, Atkins),<sup>2</sup> D.D.

Born at Kirkwall about 1613 (for he died, aged seventy-four, on 28 Oct. 1687), son of Harie Aitkin, commissary of Orkney, graduated M.A. at Edinburgh; studied at Oxford in 1637-8; chaplain to the marquis of Hamilton, 1638. Presented to the church of Birsay, in Orkney, by the king, 1641. Complained of to the General Assembly's Commission, 23 Feb. 1647 (see *Records of the Commissions, etc.*, vol. i. 213, Scottish History Society; compare vol. ii. 274-5); excommunicated, for his dealings with the marquis of Montrose, by the General Assembly of 1649, session 11.

He was in Orkney in the spring of 1650, and left the island with the governor, Sir William Johnston (see the letter from the Wodrow MSS., printed for the first time in Murdoch and Simpson's *Memoirs of Montrose*, 497). He fled to Holland, but returned to Scotland in 1653, and resided privately in Edinburgh till 1660, when he went up with Bishop Sydserf to the king: presented to the rectory of Winfrith, in Dorsetshire, by the bishop of Winchester (so Wood) in 1660 (Hutchins' *History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, i. 446). When Orkney fell vacant in Feb. 1676, Aitkin and the then bishop of Winchester were importunate with Lauderdale to have Aitkin appointed to that see. This was not granted (see *Lauderdale Correspondence: Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, i. 275), but before the end of the year he was appointed to Moray. He was succeeded

<sup>1</sup> For particulars as to the history of Bishop Mackenzie, the following works may be consulted: Craven's *History of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Moray* (1889), 59-63; Craven's *History of the Church in Orkney: the Restoration to the Revolution* (1893), 64; Archibald's *Historic Episcopate in the Columban Church and in the Diocese of Moray* (1893), 148-52. There are several references to Mackenzie in the *Inverness and Dingwall Presbytery Records* (Scottish History Society, 1896). He signed letters as 'Murdo, Bishop off Morray' (*ib.* 36-7).

<sup>2</sup> For the history of Aitkin the chief source of information made use of by K. and subsequent writers (sometimes without acknowledgment) is Anthony à Wood (see *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iv. coll. 870-72: edit. Bliss). Wood's account is given in Craven's *History of the Episcopal Church in Moray* and in Archibald's *Historic Episcopate . . . in the Diocese of Moray*, and need not here be repeated in full.

in 1676 by Arthur Forbes at Winfrith (Hutchins); *congé d'élire* 9 Sept. 1676 (R.M.S. Paper Reg. x. 3).

The chapter seems to have hesitated to elect, on account of his being excommunicate, and 'sent Mr. Hugh Fraser south to the bishop of St. Andrews anent it' (*Brodie's Diary*, Spalding Club, 14 Oct. 1676). Elected 1 Nov. 1676 (*Fasti*). On 3 Nov. Brodie writes, 'I heard that the chapter delayed to choose Atkins to be bishop because he stood excommunicate. But the votes were equal except one.'

There is uncertainty as to the date of his consecration, but the provision of Aitkin is dated 7 May, 1677 (R.M.S. Paper Reg. x. 3). According to Scott's *Fasti* he 'was consecrated at St. Andrews, 28 Oct. 1679.'<sup>1</sup>

Aitkin was translated to Galloway with, according to Anthony à Wood, a dispensation that he need not reside in his diocese. *Congé d'élire*, 15 Oct. 1679; provision, 6 Feb. 1680 (*ib. x. 141*). Old as he was, he took a prominent part in resisting James II.'s designs in favour of Roman Catholics, and, unable to walk, used to be carried to the meetings of the Parliament in 1686. Wodrow (*Hist. of the Sufferings, etc.*, iv. 365) writes: 'I hear Bishop Atkin of Galloway, an old man, made a noble stand, and died shortly after.'

Aitkin died of an apoplexy at Edinburgh, 28 Oct. 1687, and was buried in Greyfriars' Church. The bishop of Dunkeld (John Hamilton) preached his funeral sermon. Dr. Pitcairne's Latin inscription fastened to his coffin will be found in *Athenæ Oxonienses*, and in K., etc. The inscription bears testimony to his efforts against King James' Romanizing designs.

<sup>1</sup> [The authority for this statement is the following entry in the 'Money Book' of the Kirk Session of St. Andrews, of which Dr. Hay Fleming has kindly furnished a copy: '1679, October 28, received at the translation of the archbishop of Glasgow to this citie, the bishop of Argyle to Glasgow, the consecratione of the bishop of Dunkell, and the consecratione of the bishop of Murray, 38.12.00.' The Presbytery Register of St. Andrews has the following under date 29 Oct. 1679: 'The which day, the Presbytery mett in the town kirk, but without any publick exercise, in regard that Dr. Moor, who was appointed to have it, did yesterday preach by appointment from my Lord St. Andrews at the translation of the archbishop of Glasgou to the archbishoprick of St. Andreus, and consecration of the bishop of Argil' (*Presbyteries of St. Andrews and Cupar*, Abbotsford Club, 1837, p. 92). Which suggests that in the Session Register *Murray* may be a mistake for *Argyll*.]

6. COLIN FALCONER, A.M., bishop of Argyll.<sup>1</sup>

Minister of Essil, in the diocese of Moray, 1651. Transferred to Forres, 1658. Elected to Argyll in May, 1679 (*Fasti*). Provided to the bishopric of Argyll, 5 Sept. 1679. Consecrated 28 Oct. 1679.<sup>2</sup> *Congé d'élire* to the dean and chapter of Moray, dated Whitehall, 7 Feb. 1679-80. Provision, 17 March, 1679-80 (Privy Seal, Latin Reg. xi. 123).

Installed at Elgin, 5 Sept. 1680 (*Fasti*).

He sat in Parliament 1681, 1685, and 1686 (A.P. viii.).

'He died at Spynie Castle, 11 Nov. 1686, in the sixty-third year of his age. His remains are deposited (22 Nov. 1686 : see entry in the *Records of the Inverness Presbytery*, f. 209, cited by Craven, 68, and since printed, in 1896, by the Scottish History Society, p. 124) in the south aisle of St. Giles' Church in Elgin (since removed) at the bottom of the tower or steeple towards the east' (K.).

A portrait of Bishop Falconer (formerly in possession of Hugh James Rollo, W.S., Edinburgh) now hangs in Eden Court, Inverness.

7. ALEXANDER ROSE<sup>3</sup> (ROSS), D.D., principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews.

Laureated at King's College, Aberdeen, in 1667, in his twenty-first year. He passed trials and obtained his testimonial from the presbytery of Glasgow, 20 April, 1670. Ordained in Oct. 1672, and admitted to second charge of Perth, 14 Dec. 1672. Translated to first charge, 1678. Professor of Divinity at Glasgow, 1683. Afterwards D.D. and principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews.

*Congé d'élire* 17 Dec. 1686 ; provision and licence for consecration, 8 March, 1687 (*ib.* xii. 266).

Consecrated at St. Andrews, 1 May, 1687.<sup>4</sup>

Translated to Edinburgh. *Congé d'élire* to dean and chapter of Edinburgh, 25 July. Provision, 31 Dec. 1687 (R.M.S. Paper Reg. xii. 335). Elected to Edinburgh, 22 Dec. (Fountainhall's *Historical Notices*, 842).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For his parentage and early history, see K.

<sup>2</sup> [See footnote, p. 419.]

<sup>3</sup> [For his parentage, see K.]

<sup>4</sup> [St. Andrews Kirk Session Money Book. The date in *Fasti*, 11 May, is a misprint.]

<sup>5</sup> He died at his sister's house in the Canongate, Edinburgh, Sunday, 20 March, 1720, and was buried at Restalrig (in Lord Balmerino's vault) on the 23 March.

8. **WILLIAM HAY**, D.D. Born, 17 Feb. 1647; educated at Aberdeen; ordained by Bishop Scougal (K.). Minister at Kilconquhar in Fife (19 Nov. 1673); removed to Perth (March, 1684).

*Congé d'élire* to the chapter of Moray, 3 Dec. 1687 (R.M.S. Paper Reg. xii. 359). Provision, 4 Feb. 1687-8 (*ib.*). Warrant for his consecration, same date (*ib.*). He is in Edinburgh 'Lord Bishop elect of Moray,' 27 Feb. 1688 (*Inverness Presbytery Records*, S.H.S. 131-2).

Consecrated, 11 March, 1688, at St. Andrews (*ib.* 130). He preached in the High Kirk, Edinburgh, on Sunday, 31 March, 1689 (Errol Papers, *Spalding Club Miscellany*, ii. 297). The sermon was much admired by the Lord President, Sir George Lockhart, who was assassinated on his way home from church.

Deposed by the Act abolishing prelacy, 22 July, 1689 (A.P. ix. 104). He died 19 March, 1707, in the sixtieth year of his age, 'studiis et paralysi vicennali exhaustus' (epitaph, printed in Archibald (1666), formerly in the High Kirk, Inverness, now in the north aisle of St. Andrew's Cathedral, Inverness). He died in the house of his son-in-law, John Cuthbert, Esq., Castlehill, Inverness (K.). He had really entered on his sixty-first year, if K. gives correctly the date of his birth. Grub (iii. 312) follows the Errol Papers (*l.c.*) in giving the date of Hay's death as 9 March. Keith gives 17 March.

## ii. Bishops after the Disestablishment of the Episcopal Church in 1689

After the Revolution, though William Hay, whose deprivation was (from the ecclesiastical view-point) null, does not seem to have resigned, yet the ailment (paralysis), from which he suffered, must have prevented his exercising most of his episcopal functions. The diocese of Moray, like the other dioceses, was for several years administered under the superintendence of Alexander Rose (Hay's predecessor in the see of Moray), now bishop of Edinburgh, and, according to the ecclesiastical constitutions of the time, vicar-general of St. Andrews, *sede vacante*. After Rose's death, in 1720, the College of Bishops without the assignment of sees for a time managed the affairs of the church. To facilitate the labours of the bishops, the college assigned 'districts' to different members of their body. But

the election of bishops by the presbyters of dioceses was not then recognised, mainly on account of the prevailing belief that the presbyters could not exercise this right without a *congé d'élire* from the exiled monarch. The poverty to which the church had been reduced by disestablishment made it impossible to provide a bishop for each of the ancient sees, and the plan adopted was to obtain the services of one bishop for two or more dioceses.

Bishop James Gadderar, who had for some years been officiating at Aberdeen under a commission from Bishop Archibald Campbell, was petitioned by eight presbyters and one deacon of the diocese (styling themselves 'the clergy of the diocese of Moray') 'to supply our want of an ordinary by taking us under your inspection as our bishop, which election we think ourselves sufficiently entitled to make by the canons of the Catholic Church, precedents of primitive times and the present practise, and we do hereby promise to pay your reverence all canonical obedience. In testimony whereof we have subscribed this our address with our hands and appended the seal of our chapter thereto in the college of Elgin,' 17 June, 1725.<sup>1</sup>

Several of the clergy of the diocese did not subscribe, and 'the present practise' referred to in the petition refers probably to the action of the presbyters of Edinburgh in electing Bishop Fullarton to succeed Rose, and of the presbyters of Aberdeen in electing Campbell. Gadderar appears to have accepted the invitation, at all events so far as visiting and taking superintendence. I do not know that there is any evidence of his having been collated by his episcopal brethren. Nor do we find him styling himself other than 'bishop of Aberdeen.' It was not till June, 1727, that a synod of four bishops drew up canons regulating the election of bishops by a majority of the presbyters in any diocese or district. The four 'college bishops,' however, refused to sanction these canons, and the confusion in the church continued till the concordate of 1731. Previous to this

9. **WILLIAM DUNBAR**, M.A. (minister of Cruden, in Aberdeenshire, before the Revolution),<sup>2</sup> was elected to Moray, and was consecrated at Edinburgh, 18 June, 1727, by one section of the bishops, namely, Bishops Gadderar, Millar, and Rattray. And in the con-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Craven (pp. 103-4) prints the whole from the original, Episcopal Chest, Edinburgh. The seal used is the seal of the chapter of Moray with the legend *Sigillum Capituli Moravien. 1662.*

<sup>2</sup> [He continued to act as minister of Cruden till 1716, when he was deposed for Jacobitism (Scott's *Fasti*).]

cordate of the bishops in 1731 it was agreed, *inter alia*, 'that the dioceses of Moray and Ross shall, by way of district, be under the inspection of Bishop Dunbar' (*Articles of Agreement amongst the Bishops of the Church of Scotland*, Grub, iv. 7, 8).

On 5 June, 1733, the presbyters of Aberdeen met at Old Meldrum and elected Bishop Dunbar. He accepted the office, but did not resign Moray and Ross for some two years (see Grub, iv. 9).

10. **GEORGE HAY**, presbyter of Daviot in the diocese of Moray.

On a mandate from the Primus, the clergy met at Elgin, July, 1737, and elected George Hay. Disputes among the bishops delayed his consecration, and he died unconsecrated (but after he had subscribed the agreement of 1731)<sup>1</sup> about the end of the year 1737. The see was void till 1742.

11. **WILLIAM FALCONAR**,<sup>2</sup> presbyter at Forres.

He was ordained deacon by Bishop William Dunbar on Monday, 10 June, 1728. He was (10 Sept. 1741) consecrated bishop coadjutor (for Caithness and Orkney) at Alloa by Bishops Rattray, Keith, and White. In 1742 (10 Nov.) he was, at Elgin, elected to Moray ; and accepted (12 Jan. 1743) the office, and had the consent of the other bishops.

Falconar was elected Primus unanimously by Bishops Alexander, Gerard, and Raitt (the last named voting by letter), at Forfar, on St. John Baptist's Day (24 June), 1762 (MS. Book of the College of Bishops in the Episcopal Chest).

In 1776, 27 June, in Bishop Raitt's chapel in Dundee, Arthur Petrie, presbyter at Micklefolla in Aberdeenshire, was consecrated as bishop-coadjutor to Falconar (MS. Book of the College of Bishops) by the Primus (Falconar) and Bishops Raitt, Kilgour, and Rose.

Petrie was about this time (date not given in M.B.C.B.) elected by the sole remaining presbyter (Mr. Allan Cameron, of Arpafeelie) of that district, and collated to be bishop of Ross and Caithness.

On 25 Oct. 1776, Falconar was elected by a majority of the presbyters of Edinburgh, meeting (after a mandate received) in St. Paul's Chapel, Skinner's Close, Edinburgh (M.B.C.B.).

He resigned Moray before May, 1778 : see next entry.

<sup>1</sup> See his signature in the MS. Minute Book of the College of Bishops.

<sup>2</sup> He is said to have been the son of Alex. Falconar, merchant, of Elgin, by Jean King, daughter of William King, of Newmills, provost of Elgin ; Craven, 116.

12. **ARTHUR PETRIE**, coadjutor-bishop (see last entry) was elected by the presbyters of Moray ; the deed being 'dated at their respective abodes in May and June.' A mandate from the bishops for an election 'some time before.' And the bishops, Mr. William Falconar, bishop of Edinburgh, Mr. Charles Rose, bishop of Dunkeld, and Mr. Arthur Petrie, bishop of Ross and Caithness, assembled at Alloa, 13 Aug. 1778, 'unanimously agreed (Bishop Kilgour having also signified his approbation) to confirm the election' ; and 'an Act of collation was immediately drawn out and signed by the bishops then present' (MS. in the handwriting of Bishop Jolly).

Petrie died in April, 1787 (M.B.C.B. p. 48). On the preceding 7 March, 1787, he had received a coadjutor in

13. **ANDREW MACFARLANE**, presbyter of Inverness.

Consecrated (as coadjutor to his predecessor) at Peterhead by Bishops Kilgour (Primus), Petrie, and John Skinner on 7 March, 1787. Argyll was united to Ross and Caithness on 26 Sept. 1787 (M.B.C.B.), and Macfarlane was given superintendence of these as well as of Moray.

He obtained as coadjutor in 1796, Alexander Jolly (see next entry), and then resigned Moray.

Macfarlane died at Inverness, 26 July, 1818 (his epitaph : see Craven, 129).

14. **ALEXANDER JOLLY**, presbyter of Fraserburgh.

Born 3 April, 1756, at Stonehaven in Kincardineshire ; educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen ; ordained deacon at Peterhead by Bishop Kilgour (of Aberdeen), 1 July, 1776 ; priested by Bishop Kilgour, 19 March, 1777, and appointed to the charge of Turriff ; appointed to Fraserburgh, April, 1788. Consecrated as coadjutor-bishop to Bishop Macfarlane on St. John Baptist's Day (24 June), 1796, in Bishop Strachan's chapel in Dundee, by Bishops Abernethy-Drummond, Strachan, and Macfarlane, in direct opposition to the judgment of the Primus, John Skinner. The presbyters of Moray do not seem to have had any voice in the matter ; but some two years later the bishops disjoined Moray from Ross and Argyll, after which Jolly was unanimously elected to Moray by the presbyters (four in number) of the diocese, 14 Feb. 1798 ; and he was collated to that charge by the Primus and all his colleagues, 22 Feb. 1798 (M.B.C.B.).

Died 29 June, 1838, and was buried in the churchyard of Turriff.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The best authority on Bishop Jolly is *The Life of the Right Rev. Alexander Jolly, D.D., Bishop of Moray*, by Rev. William Walker, M.A. (afterwards W. Walker, D.D., dean of Aberdeen), 2nd edit.

After the death of Bishop Jolly, the clergy of Moray (then only four in number) requested the Episcopal College to issue a mandate for the election of a successor. But the bishops adhered to a resolution previously (9 Aug. 1837) formed of uniting Moray with Ross and Argyll, then under Bishop Low (Register of the College of Bishops, ii. 98-100).

**15. DAVID LOW, bishop of Ross and Argyll.**

David Low, born (Nov. 1768) at Brechin; educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen; ordained deacon and priest (1789) by Bishop Strachan; presbyter of Pittenweem, had been unanimously elected by the clergy of Ross and Argyll on the death of Bishop Macfarlane, and was consecrated at Stirling on Sunday, 14 Nov. 1819, by Bishops Gleig (Primus), Jolly (Moray), and Torry (Dunkeld).

On 23 July, 1840, the royal assent was given to an Act of Parliament further relaxing the penal laws of the eighteenth century to the extent that bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland might 'give permission, and renew such permission from time to time, to any bishop or priest of the Episcopal Church in Scotland to perform divine service, preach, and administer the sacraments according to the rites and ceremonies of the United Church of England and Ireland, for any one day or two days in any church or chapel within the diocese of these bishops.' Bishop Low officiated at the consecration of Leeds parish church in 1841.

Bishop Low resigned Argyll and the Isles in 1846, having given £8000 towards the endowment of that united diocese. In 1850 he requested to have a coadjutor. A majority of the presbyters petitioned Bishop Ewing of Argyll to consent to be coadjutor; but he declined to accede to their wishes.

On 2 Oct. 1850, on a mandate from the College of Bishops, the diocesan synod of Moray and Ross met at Elgin and proceeded to the election of a coadjutor for Bishop Low. Two persons were proposed, Rev. James Mackay of Inverness and Rev. Robert Eden, rector of Leigh, in Essex. In the Synod Records of Moray and Ross (i. 55-57) we find the following account of what followed, 'The Very Rev. the Dean (Maclaurin) having taken the votes for these two persons, it was found that there were four for each, upon which he gave his casting vote for Mr. Eden. The Rev. H. B. Moffat, who had proposed Mr. Mackay, then entered two protests, one against the vote of the Rev.

Edinburgh, 1878. Bishop Jolly's degree of D.D. was conferred on him by Washington College, Connecticut, about 1826 (?). His epitaph is printed by Walker (pp. 158-9).

J. Smith, and the other against the casting vote of the dean. When the synod met again in the afternoon, Mr. Moffat handed in a return of the election of the Rev. James Mackay signed by those who had voted for him. The dean, however, refused to receive it, considering the election canonically decided in favour of Rev. Robert Eden. Proceedings thus terminated and the synod was closed' (Archibald, 320).

The College of Bishops disallowed the casting vote of the dean, and refused to confirm either of the persons named ; and a fresh election was ordered. Bishop Low resigned the diocese on 19 Dec. 1850. He survived till 26 Jan. 1855, on which day he died at Pittenweem ; and on 1 Feb. 1855 his remains were buried in a grave outside the south end of his church.

16. **ROBERT EDEN**, rector of Leigh in Essex.

Born 2 Sept. 1804 ; third son of Sir Frederick Morton Eden, Bart. ; educated at Westminster School, 1817-23, and Christ Church, Oxford, of which he was a senior student, 1823-7 ; B.A. 1827 ; M.A. 1839 ; B.D. and D.D. 1851. Ordained deacon, 1827 ; priest, 1828 ; by the bishop of Gloucester (Bethell). Served as curate in Weston, Messing, and Peldon ; appointed to Leigh, 1837. The futile election of Mr. Eden as coadjutor-bishop of Moray has been already noticed (see last entry). On 21 Jan. 1851 the clergy of the united diocese of Moray and Ross met, presided over by H. B. Moffat (appointed dean after the secession to Rome of Dean Maclaurin), and after the mandate for an election being read, Mr. Eden received five votes and Mr. Mackay two.<sup>1</sup> The election of Mr. Eden was confirmed by the bishops in an Episcopal Synod held at Aberdeen. Mr. Eden was consecrated 9 March, 1851, in St. Paul's, York Place, Edinburgh, by Bishops W. Skinner (Primus), Terrot (Edinburgh), Ewing (Argyll), and Trower (Glasgow).

Bishop Eden was for a short time incumbent of Holy Trinity Church, Elgin. His successor in this charge was instituted early in 1853, and the bishop removed his place of residence to Inverness.

On 6 July, 1862, Bishop Eden was elected Primus in the room of Bishop Terrot, who had resigned.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Mackay (afterwards known as Aberigh Mackay) left Inverness in 1856. He served as chaplain to the forces in India during the Mutiny, 1857-8. In 1881 the University of Aberdeen conferred on him the degree of D.D. (Archibald, 331-2).

In 1864 an Act of Parliament (27 and 28 Victoria, cap. 94) removed the last of the disabilities to which the clergy of Scottish ordination were subjected.

On 6 Oct. 1864 the Episcopal Synod at Edinburgh united the diocese of Caithness to Moray and Ross and collated the bishop of Moray to its charge.

On 17 Oct. 1866 the foundation stone of St. Andrew's Cathedral at Inverness was laid by the archbishop of Canterbury (Longley). All the Scottish bishops and the bishop of North Carolina (Atkinson) were present (Archibald, 349). The cathedral was opened for worship 1 Sept. 1869, the preachers being the bishop of Oxford (Samuel Wilberforce) and the bishop of Rochester (Thomas Legh Claughton). The cathedral was consecrated 29 Sept. 1874, the preacher being the bishop of Derry (William Alexander). The bishops of Edinburgh (Henry Cotterill), Brechin (A. P. Forbes), Aberdeen (Thomas G. S. Suther), Argyll (G. R. Mackarness), and Bombay (H. A. Douglas) were present (Archibald, 350).

In 1884 the health of Bishop Eden was much impaired, and in 1885 a mandate was issued for the election of a coadjutor *cum jure successionis*. The clergy and lay electors assembled for the purpose at St. Andrew's Cathedral, Inverness, on Thursday, 16 July, 1885. The Rev. John Ferguson, M.A., incumbent of Holy Trinity, Elgin, and the Right Rev. Dr. Kelly (see next entry) were duly proposed and seconded. Five clergymen and five laymen voted for Mr. Ferguson, while eleven clergymen and six laymen voted for Bishop Kelly.

An appeal against the election of Bishop Kelly was considered and dismissed by the Episcopal Synod, after which the election was duly confirmed.

Bishop Kelly was installed as provost of Inverness Cathedral, 6 Sept. 1885.

Bishop Eden died at Inverness, 26 Aug. 1886, and was buried, on Wednesday, 1 Sept. 1886, in the cemetery of Tomnahurich, close to Inverness.

17. **JAMES BUTTER KNILL KELLY**, D.D. (Cambridge), D.C.L. (Nova Scotia). Born 18 Feb. 1832; son of Rev. John Kelly, some time curate of Standish, Lancashire; entered Clare College, Cambridge, 1850; elected scholar of Clare College, 1851; B.A. 1854; M.A. 1858; D.D. 1867. Hon. D.C.L. of King's College, Nova Scotia, 1870. Ordained deacon, 1855; priest, 1856; by the bishop of Peterborough (George Davys) at Peterborough.

Curate of Abington, Northants, 1855-6; domestic chaplain to the bishop of Sodor and Man, 1856-64, and vicar of Kirkmichael, Isle of Man, 1860-4; archdeacon of Newfoundland, 1864; consecrated bishop-coadjutor of Newfoundland, 25 Aug. 1867, by the archbishop of Canterbury (Longley), the bishop of Rochester (Claughton), and the bishop of Gibraltar (Trower), formerly bishop of Glasgow and Galloway, at Croydon; succeeded as bishop of Newfoundland, 1876; resigned, 1877; vicar of Kirkby, Lancashire, 1877-80; assistant bishop of Chester, 1879-84; archdeacon of Macclesfield, 1880-4. On resigning the archdeaconry of Macclesfield, Bishop Kelly assisted the bishop of London (Jackson), who offered him the post of bishop commissary with a prebendal stall in St. Paul's Cathedral. But the offer was declined in view of the exacting character of the London work. Bishop commissary of the bishop of Salisbury, 1884, to the bishop of Salisbury's death, 1885.

Bishop Kelly was elected by a majority of the clergy and lay-electors of the diocese of Moray as bishop-coadjutor *cum jure successionis* at Inverness on 16 July, 1885. His election was confirmed 19 Aug. 1885, and he was enthroned as bishop in St. Andrew's Cathedral, Inverness, 14 Sept. 1886. He succeeded on the death of Bishop Eden (see above).

Unanimously elected Primus (*vice* the bishop of Brechin resigned) at the Episcopal Synod held in the chapter house of St. Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh, on 29 Aug. 1901.<sup>1</sup>

Bishop Kelly resigned the office of Primus 27 May, 1904, and the see 28 Aug. thereafter.

He died 15 May, 1907, and is buried in Tomnahurich cemetery, Inverness.

18. **ARTHUR JOHN MACLEAN**, D.D. (Cambridge and Glasgow). Born 1858. Son of the Rev. A. J. Maclean, editor of *Horace*.

Eton (king's scholar), 1873-6; King's College, Cambridge (scholar), 1876-83; Jeremie prizeman; B.A. 1880 (ninth wrangler); M.A. 1883; D.D. 1904; Hon. D.D. Glasgow, 1904.

Ordained deacon, 1882, by the bishop of Argyll and the Isles (Mackarness) at St. John's, Ballachulish; priest, 1883, by the bishop of Edinburgh (Cotterill), for the bishop of Argyll and the Isles, in St. Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh.

<sup>1</sup> [The author's MS. breaks off at this point. What follows has been compiled by the editor from the ordinary books of reference. The present Bishop very kindly revised the draft and furnished several additional particulars.]

Missioner chaplain of Cumbrae Cathedral, 1882-3 ; priest in charge of St. Columba, Portree, with Stornoway and Caroy, 1882-6 ; head of Archbishop's Assyrian (East Syrian) Mission, 1886-91 ; honorary canon of Cumbrae, 1883-92, and from 1897 ; rector of Portree, 1891-7 ; dean of Argyll and the Isles, 1892-7 ; canon of Cumbrae, 1892-7 ; rector of St. John the Evangelist, Selkirk, 1897-1903 ; Pantonian Professor and Principal of the Theological College of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, 1903-5 ; canon of St. Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh, 1903-5, and honorary canon from 1905 ; select preacher, Cambridge, 1909 and 1910.

Elected bishop by a majority of clerical and lay-electors, 19 Oct. 1904 ; election confirmed, 9 Nov. 1904 ; consecrated, 21 Dec. 1904, in St. Andrew's Cathedral, Inverness, by the bishops of St. Andrews (Wilkinson), Primus, Glasgow (Campbell), Brechin (Robberds), Argyll and the Isles (Chinnery-Haldane), Aberdeen (Douglas), Edinburgh (Dowden), and Bishops Kelly (late of Moray) and Richardson (late of Zanzibar) ; enthroned 21 Dec. 1904.

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

p. 38, l. 7. Mr. R. K. Hannay has suggested that this Dominican was John Adamson, provincial of the order in 1511, whom Archbishop Forman also at a later date desired as a coadjutor. He does not seem ever to have been consecrated. See H. and H. ii. 185.

p. 42, l. 2. Dr. Hay Fleming points out that Hamilton obtained a gift of the temporality of the archbishopric on 31 May, 1546, two days after the cardinal's assassination (R.S.S. xx. 22, printed in Hay Fleming's *Reformation in Scotland*, 569).

note 2. Gibson was consecrated on Sunday, 28 August, 1541 (*Rentale Sancti Andreae*, MS. in Advocates' Library). Communicated by Mr. R. K. Hannay.

p. 43, l. 14. The date 7 April is also given in Richard Bannatyne's *Memorials*; in the *Diary of Melville of Carnbee*, appended to *Lamont's Diary*; and in the *Protocol Book* of John Scott (see Hay Fleming, *ut sup.* p. 631).

l. 31. The *Diurnal of Occurrents* gives 13 June, 1571, as the date of the Queen's Lords' Parliament, and 16 June as that of Gavin Hamilton's death. This and the preceding note were furnished to the editor by Dr. Hay Fleming.

p. 77, l. 17, for James Hepburn read John Hepburn.

p. 84, ll. 3-4. Gavin Douglas appears on the Sederunts of the Lords of Council in 1516 on 18 Sept. as elect, on 25 Sept. as bishop of Dunkeld. Sunday 21st was probably the date of his consecration. Keith's statement on the subject comes from Myln's *Vitae Episcoporum Dunkeldensis*. As to the document in the *Formulare*, it appears from what is said at p. 189 that bishop John of Brechin was not himself consecrated till long after Gavin Douglas. Probably his name is put by

mistake for that of some other prelate. The *Formulare*, like other style books, is careless in such matters. Mr. R. K. Hannay has pointed out to the editor that Douglas at this time appears to have been in alliance with Forman and in opposition to Beaton.

p. 171, l. 9. In R.S.S. (xi. 59) Bishop Alexander Stewart's death is dated 19 Dec. (1537). Communicated by Dr. Hay Fleming.

p. 174, l. 24, for Honorius IV read Honorius III.

p. 178, l. 8, read by Cosmo Innes.

p. 207, l. 18, for bishop read archbishop.

p. 212, l. 16, for Gregory IX read Gregory X.

p. 214, l. 26. The Register of Moray (quoted p. 153, l. 14) describes John de Pylmore as elect of Ross before he became bishop of Moray (in 1326). If this is right, he must have been elected to Ross after the death of Thomas and before the provision of Roger.

p. 222, l. 15, for 1192 read 1492.

p. 242, l. 2, for Ross read Caithness.

p. 248, l. 5, for *Reg. Epist.* read *Epist. Reg.*

p. 261, l. 7. Stephen was also rector of Essy, prebendary of Rhynie and master of the hospital of Ednam (C.P.R. Pet. i. 604, 636). In his earlier days he had slain one Walter de Halibreton who had stolen cattle from him; for this he obtained Papal Dispensation, which was confirmed 26 Jan. 1408-9 (*Reg. Av.* 333. 56).

p. 306, l. 11, for 2 June read 3 June (see footnote, pp. 18-9).

p. 362, l. 19, for Innocent IV read Innocent VI.

p. 365, l. 17, for 1278-9 read 1378-9.

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*The notice specially devoted to each bishop is distinguished from casual references by being put in large and italic figures, e.g. (47). Bishops and cathedral dignitaries of Argyll or Lismore are uniformly indexed under Argyll; those of Sodor or the Isles are indexed as of Sodor while the diocese remained undivided; thereafter those of the English diocese are indexed as of Man, those of the Scottish diocese as of the Isles.*

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